



TITLE:

Notes on Vedic Dialects, (1)

AUTHOR(S):

WITZEL, Michael

CITATION:

WITZEL, Michael. Notes on Vedic Dialects, (1). ZINBUN 1990, 25: 31-70

ISSUE DATE:

1990

URL:

<https://doi.org/10.14989/48690>

RIGHT:

© Copyright 1990, Institute for Research in Humanities Kyoto University.

Notes on Vedic Dialects, (1)

Michael WITZEL

CONTENTS:

TYPICAL ŚĀKHĀ DIFFERENCES

- §1. Sandhi — *o/au* + vowel
- §2. Some cases of interchange of *l/r*
- §3. Words in —*īya*

FEATURES OF SYNTAX AND STYLE

- §4. The particle collocation (*u*) (*ha*) (*vai*)

SOME INDIVIDUAL CASES

- §5. *pitamātr-* : *mātāpitṛ-*
- §6. Typical formulas

In two preceding papers¹⁾, a case has been made for the existence of various old Indo-Aryan (OIA), notably Vedic, dialects which are different from the other forms of OIA, such as that of Pāṇini and his North-Western *bhaṣā*²⁾. These post-Ṛgvedic dialects can first be noticed in Kurukṣetra and its surroundings and later on in all of Northern India, from the Beas in E. Panjab to the borders of Bengal. They show, in spite of the seemingly uniform nature of Vedic that has been transmitted by the texts, a large number of divergencies, some of which can be linked to the various earliest attested Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) dialects³⁾.

In order to reach even these preliminary results, it was necessary to establish (1) the homelands of the various Vedic texts, and (2) to provide a time frame for them, at least one of relative chronology. This was attempted in the two earlier articles mentioned above (see note 2).⁴⁾

Just as Epic Sanskrit or Buddhist MIA, the Vedic speech of the Brāhmaṇa caste was a Koine used and understood in all of Northern India, from Madra (Panjab) in the West to Videha (Bihar) in the East, and up to Vidarbha (Berar, N. Maharashtra) in the South. It was divided⁵⁾ into some major dialects, mainly the following three: those of the Kuru, the Pañcāla, and the Easterners (*prācya*). The land of Kosala, situated between the Eastern and the Pañcāla dialects, and the large Southern (*dakṣiṇatya*) fringe of Vedic India, (i.e. Alwar, Baghelkand, Bun-

delkhand, Malwa/Avanti), were areas of transition which shared some of the features of the neighboring dialects.

Each one of the Vedic schools (*śakha*), by whom the various texts have been orally transmitted to this day, and since the middle ages also in writing, originated in a certain limited geographical area of Northern India. At first, the school in question continued to exist there, though it subsequently have spread to other, often distant parts of the subcontinent.⁶⁾ Each school acquired, by and large, the grammatical features of the dialect of its original homeland. This took place before the texts of this particular *śakha* were collected and fixed phonetically and textually, and before they underwent their final redaction towards the end of the Vedic period. Therefore influences from the area to which the school moved only in post-Vedic times are no longer reflected in the features of the texts of the school.⁷⁾

When studying such school peculiarities, however, one always has to take into account two contradicting developments: on one hand, the normalizing tendency of the Brahmanical North Indian Koine as well as the redactional activities of the late Vedic redactors of the school in question, both of which blurred some of the local features.⁸⁾ On the other hand, there are the frequently failing attempts of the local Brahmanical authors to use "high" Vedic Sanskrit. However, their 'local color'⁹⁾ usually shows,—which is, of course, not an unwelcome feature as it helps to investigate the background of each text.

In the present article, and in others to come, I propose to elaborate further on this set of problems and I will try to delineate the general pattern and the main features of the dialect spread of Vedic India and their relation to the Vedic Koine; in addition, I propose to add, consecutively, more detailed examples from the very large number of available, though not always readily or easily accessible data in order to enlarge upon the general picture briefly described above.

It also will be necessary to expand the present, still somewhat simplified way of presentation which is, in this paper as well, mainly statistical. It would be useful, for example, to undertake some more detailed comparisons of the usage of certain grammatical categories in the texts, taking into account the actual text passages. This would, however, lead too far in the present context. It would also be illuminating to study the actual syntactical use of a particular particle and its various combinations with other particles in parallel or similar texts of the same relative age and the same or adjacent geographical areas, —for example the use *u* in "South-Eastern" texts¹⁰⁾ such as ŚBK:: ŚBM:: VādhB:: JB, etc. One could then ask some questions as the following: Is there a difference in meaning in parallel sentences of related texts, with or without *u*, or is there no difference in meaning any more during this comparatively late Vedic period? Is *u* facultative in the

late Brāhmaṇa period only in South-Eastern texts? Or, if not, by which particle can it be substituted?¹¹⁾

In addition, more attention could be paid to the various stylistic levels of Vedic within each dialect and historical level. For example, it may be instructive, as far as Saṁhitā and Brāhmaṇa prose are concerned, to compare the features of the “didactic” theological explanations of the ritual with those of the language of the myths.¹²⁾ One could also compare both types of prose with the direct speech that is reported in the texts.¹³⁾

TYPICAL ŚĀKHĀ DIFFERENCES

§1. Sandhi of -o/au + vowel

The Sandhi peculiarity to be studied first tends to reconfirm some of the conclusions made earlier (see “*Tracing the Vedic dialects*”) on points of phonetics and flexion. It is well known, of course, that the various śākhās disagree on minor points of vowel Sandhi. One of these cases, though little noticed as far as its usefulness in ascribing certain texts to a particular school is concerned, is the Sandhi of final -o/-au and initial vowel.¹⁴⁾

The various texts¹⁵⁾ have the following Sandhi forms:¹⁶⁾

RV	-o:	-a	u-	PS	-a	u ⁻¹⁷⁾	ŚS	-a	V-	(SVK=RV)		
		-av	V-		-av	V-						
	-au:	-ā	u-		-ā	u ⁻¹⁸⁾		-āv	V-			
		-āv	V-		-āv	V-						
=RVPrāt. ¹⁹⁾							=AVPrāt. ²⁰⁾					
							=ŚaunPrāt. ²¹⁾					
<hr/>												
AB	-a	V-										
	-āv	V-										
	-ā	u ⁻²²⁾										
KS	-a	V-		TS	-av	V-	VSK	-a	V-	VSM	-av	V-
	-ā	V-			-āv	V-		=VPrāt. ¹²³⁾				
KpS	-av	V ⁻²⁴⁾		TPrāt.	-a	V-		-ā	V-		-ā	u-
	-āv	V-			-ā	V ⁻²⁵⁾					-āv	V-
PB	-a	u-					ŚBK ²⁶⁾	-a	V-	ŚBM	-av	V-
	-ā	u ⁻²⁷⁾						-āv	V-		-āv	V-
	-āv	V ⁻²⁸⁾						-ā	u-		-ā	u-
				KB	-a	u-						
					-āv	V-						
MS	-a	V-										
	-ā	V-								AĀ	-āv	V ⁻²⁹⁾

M. WITZEL

	JB	-a	V-		-ā	u-
		-āv	V- ³⁰⁾		AA 5 -ā	V-
Some examples:						
PSOr ³¹⁾ 10.9.10	<i>urūṇasā-h-asutṛ[]</i>		<i>udumbalau</i>			
PSK	<i>urūṇasāv asṛpā</i>		<i>udumbarau</i>			
+PS	<i>urūṇāsāu asutṛpāu</i>		<i>udumbalāu</i> ⁺			
PS 18.64.6	<i>urūṇāsāv ity ekā</i>					
RV 10.14.12	<i>urūṇasav asutṛpā</i>		<i>udumbalāu</i>			
AVŚ 18.2.13	<i>urūṇasav asutṛpāv</i>		<i>udumbalāu</i>			
TĀ 6.3.2	<i>urūṇasav asutṛpāv</i>		<i>ulumbalāu</i>			
ĀśvŚS 6.10.20	<i>urūṇasāv asutṛpā</i>		<i>udumbalau</i>			
Thus:		-āv voc. -ā	u-	RV, ĀśvŚS.		
		-āv voc. -āv	u-	ŚS, TĀ;		
<i>agnā agniś carati</i>	MS, KS, MŚS, VSK					
<i>agnāv</i> ^o	ŚS, VaitS, KauśŚ, TS, ŚBM, KŚS, ĀśvŚS, ChB, GGS ³²⁾					
<i>saha nā avatam</i>	KaṭhŚiUp ³³⁾					
<i>saha nāv avatam</i>	TU 1, and other texts following this famous Upaniṣad Śānti.					

At first view, it is remarkable that MS and KS, the two oldest existent YV Saṁhitās, agree with each other also in this peculiarity. Both texts share many other unusual traits not found in other texts,—note that they do not possess a Prā-tiśākhyā or Śikṣā, and have been transmitted during the Middle Ages in areas of India which are quite distant from each other, namely in Gujarat/N.Maharashtra and Kashmir.³⁴⁾ Mutual influence during the last one, or probably even two millenia thus is to be excluded.³⁵⁾ This indicates that the Sandhi forms of these two texts could be a trait going back to the period of their text formation³⁶⁾ or, at least, to the time preceding their redaction. This Sandhi thus represents an old Western feature, in other words: the Kuru dialect.

It is notable that, as so frequently, the Kāṇvas follow this Western trait, although they are wedged in between the Central (Taittirīya=Pañcāla) and Eastern (Mādhyandina=Videha) dialects. As we know that the Kāṇvas ultimately came from a more Western area,³⁷⁾ the conservation of this Kuru Sandhi is another indication that it is of considerable antiquity.

The Taittirīyas have undergone a separate development which, interestingly, is not followed by the Jaiminīyas (or their predecessors, the Śātyāyanis), nor by the Kauṣītakis who reside in the same area, the Pañcāla land. The “Taittirīya” form of this Sandhi is thus limited to YV texts only.

More interestingly, the Mādhy. Vājasaneyins stand quite apart from all the forms mentioned so far, but are in part joined by the Śākala Ṛgveda and all of the texts of the Aitareya school, even their older parts (AB 1–5). Viewed against the background sketched above,³⁸⁾ this is of extreme interest. It is obvious that the RV

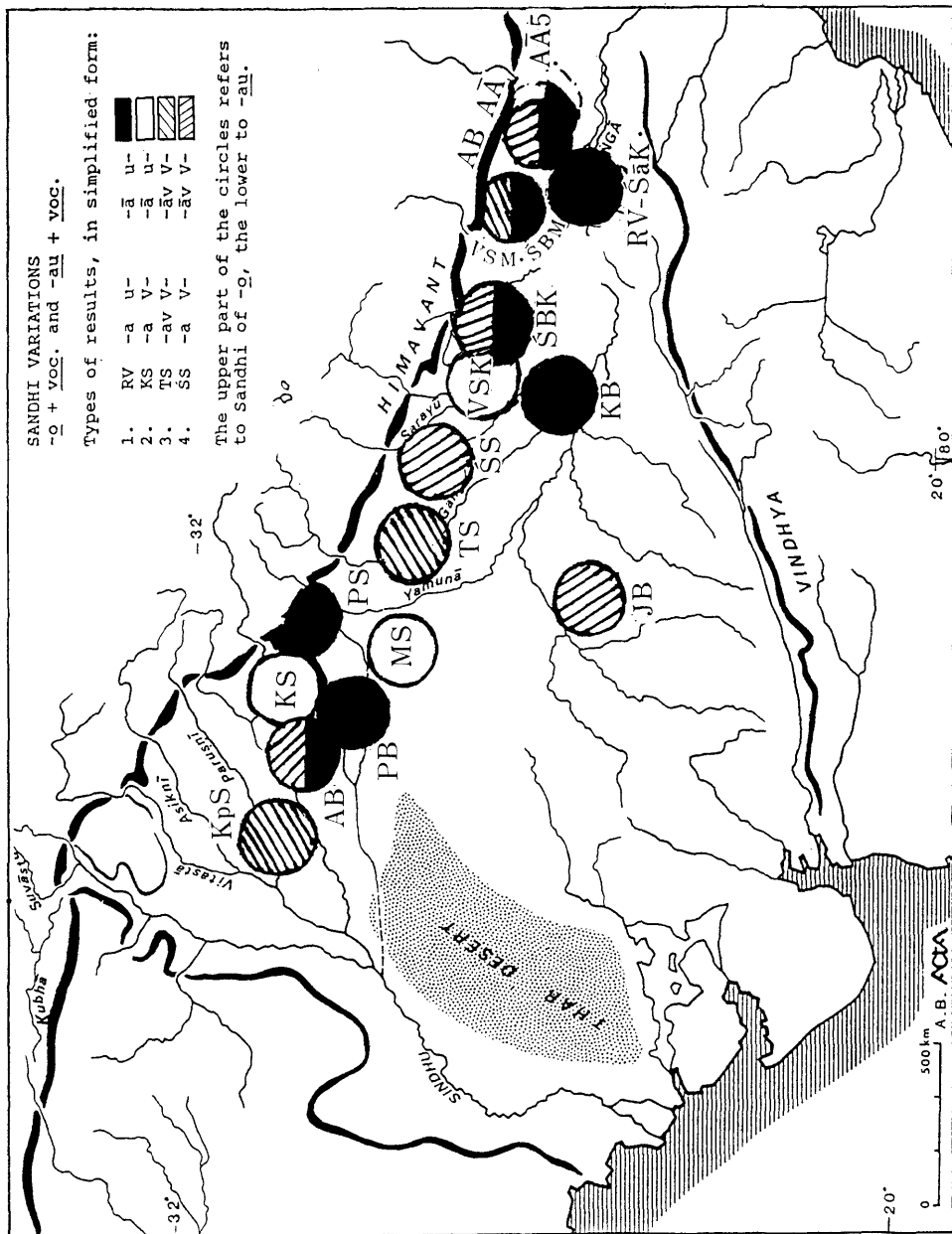
in its present Śākala form was redacted, grammatically analyzed, and put into the new Padapāṭha form by Śākalya, and thus is comparatively late (i.e. of the late Br. period).³⁹⁾ Secondly, the present Padapāṭha text shares the Central North Indian development of the fem. gen. in *-ai*⁴⁰⁾ which by this time had spread to the East (ŚBM, VSM). It is not entirely surprising that Śākalya's Padapāṭha, having been composed at the same time as parts of ŚB, also possesses the Eastern (Vāj.) form of the vowel Sandhi discussed here.

It is, however, quite instructive to compare this grammatical feature with the evidence for an Eastern movement of the Ṛgvedins by the time of Janaka of Videha (the Mahājanaka of the Pāli texts) and with the 'sudden' appearance of Vidagdha Śākalya and other Kuru-Pañcāla Brahmins at his court (BĀU 3, ŚB 11).⁴¹⁾ Although Śākalya's RV school of the Aitareyins originally stemmed from the West,⁴²⁾ and pertains, e.g., to the *-l-* zone,⁴³⁾ the evidence contained in the stories of ŚB and BĀU indicates that he redacted his RV in the East (or brought it, in more or less finished form, from further West) and partly adjusted it to local Sandhi norms. That the Śākalya RV was *not* the one originally found in the East is further underlined by the peculiar RV tradition reported at ŚB (Mādhy.) 11.5.1.10. According to this text, the Pururavas hymn of the RV had 15 and not, as in the Śākalya RV, 18 stanzas. The theory, delineated above, of an import of the Śākalya RV from the West thus agrees with a feature found in the text itself.

If this were not the case, we must posit a Sandhi of the Ṛgvedic schools which was uniform from the Panjab (AB 1-5) via Pañcāla (KB) to the East, where it either coincided with the local version (as represented by ŚB 11.5.10 sq.), or where this Sandhi trait was taken over from, or adopted by, the Vājasaneyins. The latter case would be more likely as we have seen that their Samhitā has been extracted secondarily from ŚB and has (re-) gained the older, Ṛgvedic (Kuru) type accentuation it had lost in the East. Note, however, that the Kāṇvas, who usually try to conform to the well-known (Śākalya) RV as far as possible,⁴⁴⁾ do *not* follow suit here.⁴⁵⁾ The course of events, therefore, must have conformed to the scenario described above: import of the Śākala (Aitareya) version of the RV from the West (Kurukṣetra and the lands west of it),⁴⁶⁾ and redaction of this Śākala RV in the East by Śākalya, in the Vājasaneyi territory (Videha).

It is also notable that the Western trait of *-l-* for old⁴⁷⁾ intervocalic *-d-*, which originated in the Kuru territory with the Kaṭha and Aitareya schools⁴⁸⁾ and is thus also expected for a Śākala text, has been retained in Śākalya's RV as a characteristic, probably in order to distinguish his text from the local RV (as exemplified by the Pururavas hymn of the Eastern RV).

The matter becomes even more involved when we take into account the teach-



ings of the Prātiśākhya and of Pāṇini on this subject. According to Pāṇ. 8.3.19, Śākalya would have read, for example, *asā adityaḥ*. This is *not* what we get in our present RV as well as in the RVPrāt. which teach the well-known forms such as *asāv adityaḥ*, also taught by Pāṇini at 8.3.17 (probably his own rule), cf. *Tracing*, p. 188.

It seems that the “Śākalya” of Pāṇini still is more “Western” (=KS, MS) than the one we have in the present RV/RVPrāt. Note also that Śākalya basically produced a Padapāṭha and probably not the Saṃhitāpāṭha as such, which he must have imported from the West (in a form phonetically slightly different from our present one, of course). Our present Śākala RV thus is comparatively late and Eastern, and akin to Aitareya Āraṇyaka which teaches some rules about RV pronunciation and adheres to the same Sandhi (-*av* voc. etc.) as found in our Śākala RV and in RV-Prāt. Note, however, that AĀ 5 (a Sūtra style text dealing with the Mahāvratā) does *not* follow this Sandhi rule. —To the same group of texts as our present Śākala RV belongs, as far as the Sandhi discussed above is concerned, the PS as it has come down to us. One may suppose that it has been exported, along with other Kuru texts, to the East and received its final recation there, in Videha, together with the RV. This type of Sandhi influenced many other Vedic texts as well (see the table, above). The East and especially Videha, in the time of Janaka, seems to have been the area where many Vedic texts were collected and redacted.⁴⁹⁾ If this is correct, it would also explain why Pāṇini often refers to the “Easterners” when rules of Sandhi etc. are concerned but that does not know, or rather does not want to accept as authority the Vedic texts of the East such as ŚB, etc.

Note finally, that the Kāpiṣṭhalas stand apart, though they are a branch of the Kāṭhas, and were situated, according to Megasthenes/Arrian, roughly in the same area as the Kāṭhas, though somewhat more to the west of Kurukṣetra, at the confluence of the Panjab rivers. Although they have, like the Kāṇvas, undergone heavy influence by the RV they did adopt the Sandhi norms of the Taittirīya school.⁵⁰⁾

Excursus:

The case of PS needs special discussion as the text has not been edited satisfactorily so far:

The sandhi of *-o*: *-a u-* is found, for example, at:

4.34.4a *pra sumatim savitar vāya utaye*⁵¹⁾;

19.17.13b *uṣena vāya udakenehi*;

20.7.8a *divo viṣṇa*⁵²⁾ *uta vā pṛthivyā*.

However, *-o a-* is found occasionally.⁵³⁾

The cases of *-o* before other vowels are represented, as expected, by *-av*:

- 2.28.5b *bharadvājo madhav annaṃ kṛnotu*
 4.12.4a *eko bahūnām asi manyav iḍita*
 6.16.3a *upa naḥ pitav ā gahi*
 7.19.6a *yadā pīlav āngirasa.*

There is, however, also one case of *-o ā->-a ā-*.⁵⁵⁾

The sandhi of *-au* is easily divided into the two categories mentioned above: *-ā* before *u/ū* and *-āv* before the other vowels:

- 16.15.8d *stri ca pumāṃs ca tā ubhāv arasā;*
 19.52.9a *urūṇasāv asutrṣpā udumbarau;*
 1.60.2b *sāsahai śvasurā ubhau;*
 9.5.5d *kim ūrū pādā ucyete;*
 16.105.4b *ubhā ugrau carato vīryāya;*

The Sandhi of *-āv + vowel* is very common (here follows a small extract only):

- 1.4.6b *yad vastāv adhi saṃśrutam*
 4.37.2b *yau viditāv iṣubhṛtām asiṣṭhau*
 5.18.3a *dvāv imau vātau vāta*
 6.6.8b *nyañjanti madhāv adhi*
 10.1.6a *yaś cāsāv ahavir gṛhaḥ*
 17.29.9a *yāv asya pūrvapādau tau pūrvapakṣau*
 18.30.1c *vāsantāv enaṃ māsau prācyā diśo gopāyato*
 20.15.9b *yāv ātasthatur bhuvanā juṣāṇām.*

However, there are some deviating cases:

- 19.52.15b *daśa muṣkāv ulūkyāḥ*
 16.83.2c *sāhnātīrātrāv ucchiṣṭe*
 16.153.8c *te brahma kṛtvā samidhāv upāsta*

This probably is due to the restauration by Barret.⁵⁵⁾

The result of this special investigation is surprising: PS, other than ŚS (or rather, the Vulgate edited by Roth-Whitney and Śaṅkar Pāṇḍuraṇ Paṇḍit), agrees with the Sandhi rules of the RV and its Prātiśākhya. How is this to be explained?

There is, as a study of the text of PS will quickly reveal,⁵⁶⁾ a considerable influence of the RV on PS, such as the preference of PS for R̥gvedic *kṛnotu* instead of common Atharvavedic *karotu*, etc. This is quite old, as cases such as *kṛṇva* for *kaṇva* reveal: *kaṇva* is found already in the RV itself and the substitution of *r* cannot have been made much later than the AV period itself as the knowledge of the correct etymology of *kaṇva* was quickly forgotten.⁵⁷⁾

However, in the present case, the Sandhi peculiarity can either be patterned on the RV (Śākalya, and VSM) pattern or it was common already to the original (Śākala/Aitareya) RV of the Kurukṣetra area and to PS, which had its origin in the same area. The last possibility is more probable. First, as this form of the Sandhi seems most easily explained (loss of *-u* before *u/ū-*) and secondly, because of the

peculiar position of VS(M) with which it agrees in this case.

VS is extracted, according to Caland⁵⁸⁾ only secondarily from ŚB. Indeed the accent systems of both texts disagree sharply: ŚB has what the Bhāṣika Sūtra and Śābara call the *bhaṣika* accentuation, a simplification of the original Vedic tonal pattern to a sequence of high and low tones only.⁵⁹⁾ However, VS has the usual Vedic pattern with Anudātta, Udātta, Svarita (and other tones such as Anudāttara). The modern MSS all show this with the usual marks used in accenting the RV, TS (and modern AV Vulgate MSS). However, the older Nepalese VS manuscripts of 1422 A.D. and earlier⁶⁰⁾ follow the pattern of accentuation marks found in Maitr. S. (and the older AV MSS of Gujarat). This means that VS, even during the middle ages, still had a tonal pattern agreeing with that of MS, AV (Vulg.) with the *udatta* as the highest tone. The same may have held for PS but this cannot be ascertained as it follows the Kashmiri (KS) pattern.

In any case it is clear that VS followed an accentuation model derived either from the MS-KS-AV(Ś)-PS(?) tradition or the one close to it, that of RV-TS. An influence on the Sandhi pattern therefore cannot be excluded. That the two schools of the Vājasaneyins wavered in this respect is indicated by Vāj. Prāt. which prescribes and describes two different versions of the Sandhi, now found in the Kāṇva and the Mādhy. traditions. We must thus regard the Vāj. traditions of VS as secondary and cannot expect their influence on RV (Śākalya) or even on PS.

The outcome therefore is the expected one: The local Sandhi pattern of the Aitareyins (Śākala) in the Eastern Panjab and that of the neighboring Paippalāda school agreed with each other already at the time of PS collection (and thus long before its final redaction and equally long before the Śākala RV was transplanted into the East, under Janaka of Videha).

§2. Some interchanges between *l*/*r* in Middle Vedic

The variation in the distribution of *r* and *l* has fascinated scholars since the beginnings of modern Vedic research. It is generally believed that just as in the later dramas, the cases of *l* in Vedic texts are due to the Eastern dialects. These are supposed to form a (more popular) substratum even beneath the R̥gvedic language and for its Kuru-Pāñcāla successor as found in the Sanskrit of the YV Saṃhitās and the Brāhmaṇas. Generally speaking, words with *l* instead of *r* have been on the increase, as is well known, ever since the RV.⁶¹⁾

However, a closer look at some post-R̥gvedic texts indicates that the case is much more complicated than supposed so far.

a. Forms with *-l-* taught by Pāṇ. 8.2.19:

The compound verb *-ayate* occasionally has preverb forms containing *-l-* instead of the more common *-r-*; this has recently been studied by T. Goto.⁶²⁾

(-)palā.ayate	MS, TS	TB, SB	ŚBK 2, JB, PB;	GB
(-)paly.ayate	KS, KpS,	ŚB	JB, JUB; BĀUK 4, (BĀUM vi-pary-!)	
pla.ayate	MS, KS			
nil.ayate		TS, TB, VādhB, BŚS.		

The rest of the *-ayate* forms (with preverbs other than those containing *-r-*) are found in: RV, AV, PS, MS, KS, KathB, KathĀ TS, TB, TĀ, ŚB, VādhB, ŚBK 1 (=ŚBM). T. Goto (p. 95), rightly calls this distribution dialectical. Quite surprisingly, the occurrence of the forms in *-l-* is thus limited to the Western and Central areas. The East, with the usual exception of the Kāṇvas, is conspicuously absent in this case. This seems to contradict the well-known preponderance of *-l-* forms in the East in later stages of the language, such as *laja* for *raja*. The development is indeed foreshadowed in the famous Asura quotation of ŚB *he 'lavo he 'lavo < *he 'rayo**. Why is an everyday word such as *pra. ayate > playate* not accepted in its popular form in the East?

b. The comparable interchange of *preṅkha/pleṅkha*

pleṅkha- is found in TS, TB, and JB, while *pla. iṅkh* is found in MS. On the other hand, *preṅkha-* occurs in RV, PS, KS, MŚS, VārŚS, ŚS, KĀ, ŚŚS, BŚS, ĀpŚS, HŚS, KŚS, AĀ, and *pra. iṅkh* in RV, PS, KĀ, ŚŚS, AĀ. Again, the *-l-* forms are limited to the Maitr. and Taitt. areas; the East is conspicuously absent, as in the first case (*-ayate* verbs).

c. Keśin *Darbha/Dalbhya*

The famous Pañcāla king Keśin *Dalbhya* has a variant of his name, *Darbhya*, which is closer to the original, as it is derived from *darbha-* (grass); indeed, there is a story in BŚS 18.38 which tells that his original name was Śīrṣaṇya Kuśa.⁶³⁾

<i>Darbhya-</i>		<i>Dalbhya-</i>	
RV	5.61.17 (without Keśin)		
MS	1.4.12 ⁶⁴⁾ , 1.6.5 ⁶⁵⁾ , 2.1.3 ⁶⁶⁾	KS	10.6 (Vaka Dalbhi), 30.2:183.15; ⁶⁷⁾
TS	2.6.2.3	KpS	46.5
JB	<i>darbhya-</i> 2.53	KB	7.4 ⁶⁸⁾ , VādhB 4.37 ⁶⁹⁾
	<i>darbha-</i> 2.100, 2.102	JB	1.257, 1.337
	<i>darbhya-</i> 1.285, 2.68, 2.122, 3.166, 3.312		
JUB	3.29.1 (=3.6.1.1-2), 3.31	JUB	1.12.4.1, 1.18.4.3, 1.2.2.3, 4.6.2.2
BŚS-Pravara	22:435.1	PB	13.10.8 ⁷⁰⁾
		BŚS	18.38: 389.1 ⁷¹⁾
			18.26: 374. 12 ⁷²⁾

What surprises in this distribution is that the Western texts such as KS, KpS, PB have the popular form in *-l-* while the central N. Indian texts such as TS, KB, JB, BŚS have *-r-*. Even more surprising, *prima facie*, is the split in the tradition of the Jaiminīya school, both in their Brāhmaṇa as well as in their Ār./Up (JUB). We would expect a complete alignment with the adjacent Taittirīya or the Maitrāyaṇīya schools. The Jaim. texts (in their earlier form as Śāty. Br.,—a Central N. Indian text) in part came from originally the same territory as the Central N. Indian Kauṣītakis and Taitt. in Uttar Pradesh (Pañcāla land). They share the apparently fluctuating distribution of *l/r* in this area which also is found with their Western neighbors (Kaṭha *-l-*, Maitr. *-r-*), representing the N. and S. Kuru areas.

It would be interesting so see whether a distinction could be made between N. Kuru *-r-*: S. Kuru *-l-*: W. Central *-r-*: E. Central *-l-*: Southern *r/l*.

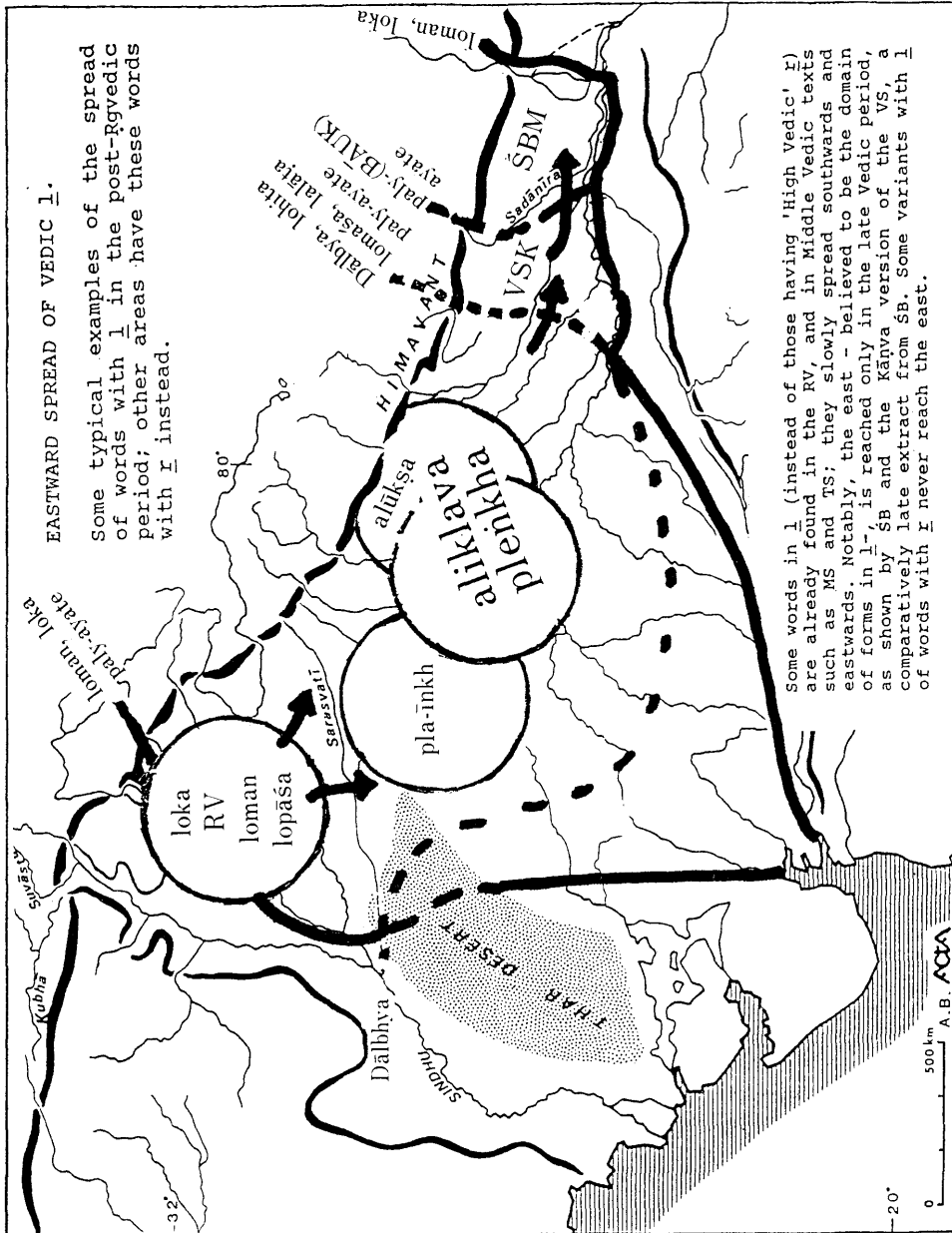
d. Some other examples

However, I have briefly investigated a few more examples where *r* and *l* vary in the various texts. Taking into account the probable social implications of the feature—*l* is, as is well known, a more ‘popular’ sound⁷³) than *r*,—some words from various social levels of post-R̥gvedic speech were selected for this purpose. Even then, the attestation of *l* varies greatly. Here I merely report the results as space does not allow to go into much detail here.

Surprisingly, the geographical distribution in the fluctuation of *l/r* is found to vary greatly from one word to another. Equally, the distribution of *l* does *not* agree, as one might be led to think, with the historical level⁷⁴) of speech (Mantra:: prose in the Saṁhitās, Br., etc.). Even, the presumed social level does not play a decisive role.

For example, everyday words such as *loman-* ‘hair’, *lohita* ‘red, blood’, otherwise found with *-r-* (but note that *loman* occurs already in RV with *-l-*), or *pla/pala-ayate* could be selected in both their ‘educated’ and their popular forms. On the other hand, terms such as some popular words as *alīklava* ‘eagle’, *lomaśa* ‘hare’ (presumably, a specialized hunter’s term?), or a (predominantly?) children’s word such as *pleṅkh*, *pleṅkha-* would be expected to appear only in their popular forms with *-l-*. This, however, is precisely *not* the case. Instead, the distribution of *r/l* varies greatly.

While *pla/pala-ayate* and *loman* are found in the whole area of Vedic dialects, from the Panjab to the borders of Bengal, other words with *l* are found in certain areas only: for example in the S. Kuru/Central and Southern area (*pleṅkh*), both in the Central and Southern area (*alīklava*), in the N. Kuru-Pañcāla area (*lohita*), in the Central area only (*alūkṣa*), or are restricted to the Kuru-Pañcāla area (*lomaśa*).



NOTES ON VEDIC DIALECTS, (1)

The distribution in the various texts of the words in -l- mentioned above, is as follows:

(N.-) WEST	CENTER	E. CENTER	EAST
(1) <i>roman</i> ⁷⁵⁾			
RV			
SVK	SVJ		
PS			
RVKh			
ABo	JB		
	ŚĀ		
ChU			
<i>loman</i> ⁷⁶⁾			
PS	ŚS		
KS	TS	VSK	VSM
MS ^p			
KpS	TB, TĀ		
	JB	ŚBK	ŚBM
ABo	ŚĀ		ĀĀ
PB, ŚB			
KaṭhB			
GB	KauṣU		BĀU
ChU			AitU
	VādhS, BhŚS	BŚS	ĀśvŚS
	ĀpŚS, HŚS		KŚS
VārŚS	VaitS		
<i>romaṇvat</i> ⁷⁷⁾			
RV			
	JB		
<i>lomavat</i> ⁷⁸⁾			
RVKh	ŚS		
KS	TS		
<i>lomatas</i>			
MS	TS		ŚBM
	TĀ		
(2) <i>romaśa</i> ⁷⁹⁾			
RV	ŚS		
PS	KB, JB		
	ŚĀ		
	ŚŚS		
	ĀpMP	BŚS	
		BDhS	
AVPar			

M. WITZEL

<i>lomaśa</i>			
KS	TS		
MS			
KpS	TB		
	JB	ŚBK	ŚBM
PB	TĀ		ĀA
	BhŚS, ĀpŚS		
	HŚS		
	VaitS	BGS	
<i>lomaśāvākṣanā</i> ⁸⁰⁾			
RVKh	ŚS		
PS			
etc.			
(3) <i>lalāṭa</i>			
RVKh, PS, KS ^{mp}	TS, ŚS		
MS ^{mp}			
KpS ^{mp}			
AB	TB	ŚBK	ŚBM _o AĀ
	JB		
GB	JUB		
	ŚŚS		KŚS
	ĀpŚS		
	VaitS		
KGS			
<i>rārāṭa</i>			
KS ^{mp}	TS	VSK	VSM
MS ^{mp}			
KpS	TB	ŚBK	ŚBM _o ŚBM _n
	KB		
	(<i>rārāṭi</i>)		
	ĀpŚS		KŚS
	HŚS		ĀŚS (<i>rārāṭi</i>)
	VaitS		
(4) <i>rohita</i> :			
RV			
PS	ŚS		VSM
KS ^p			
MS ^p			
KpS			
AB	TB, TĀ	ŚBK	ŚB (AB _n)
	JB		
GB			
ChU			

NOTES ON VEDIC DIALECTS, (1)

DŚS, LŚS	ĀpŚS, HŚS ŚŚS ĀpMp HGS, ĀgGS VaitS, KauśS	BŚS	KŚS
AVPar			
<i>lohita</i> : ⁸¹⁾			
RVKh			
PS	ŚS		
KS	TS		
ABo	TB, KB, JB TĀ	ŚBK	ŚBM AĀ
ṢB			
<i>rohini</i> :			
RV			
PS, SVK	ŚS, SVJ	VSK	VSM
MS ^p , MS ^m	TS ^p , TS ^m		
KS ^p , KS ^m			
AB	TB, TĀ	ŚBK	ŚBM
KaṭhB	KB JB		
<i>lohini</i> : ⁸²⁾			
PS	ŚS		
MS ^p			
AB	TĀ ŚA ĀpŚS VaitS	ŚBK	ŚBM AĀ

The following cases reflect a clear West-East difference; the Western (Kuru) texts preferring *-r-* while the Central (Pañcala) texts have *-l-*:

(5) <i>ariklava</i>	<i>aliklava</i>		
PS	ŚS		
KS			
	JB		
(6) <i>arūkṣa</i>	⟨ <i>alūkṣa</i> ^{82e)} ⟩		
PB ⁸³⁾	KB ⁸⁴⁾	ŚBK ⁸⁵⁾	ŚBM 13.8.3.13
	JB ⁸⁶⁾		
KaṭhŚiU	⟨TU ⁸⁷⁾ ⟩		
	⟨TB⟩		
(7) <i>Kirāta</i>			
<i>kirāta</i> ⁸⁸⁾			
		VSK	VSM
PB	TB		

*kairātika*⁸⁹⁾

PS

ŚS

*kilāta*⁹⁰⁾

ŚBK

ŚBM

JB

*kailāta*⁹¹⁾

PS

What seems to appear from this pattern of the distribution of *l* in some selected words are two important observations:

—First of all, the distribution of *l/r* differs per word and apparently also according to the social level of the word in question. Everyday words with *l*, such as those designating a part of the body such as *loman* “hair”, are more widely accepted than others;

—Secondly, the language of the Northern Kuru area (Kaṭha/Paippalāda/Aitareyin) is more “educated” or at least strives to appear so: indeed, in this dialect area one prefers even hyper-correct forms such as PS *Kṛṇva* for RV *Kaṇva*; similarly, in PS, the more archaic, R̥gvedic forms *kṛṇu-*, *kṛṇ/kṛṇo-* instead of typical post-R̥gvedic *kar/kur-* are predominant in the present tense of *kṛ*.⁹²⁾

In contrast, the Southern rim of the Kuru area (MS) and the vast territories east of it (Pañcāla with the Taitt., etc.) show a greater preference for the “popular” forms in *l*. However, the area famous for the preponderance of *l*, the East (Videha) still is largely absent from this picture. It seems that the *l-* forms spread into the Videha area only comparatively late. (We have, of course, to take into account that the Brahmanical texts intentionally may have avoided words with *l* in this area, precisely as they were regarded as popular. That popular or uneducated speech indeed had words with *l* instead *r* is seen in the famous Asura exclamation *he ‘lavo*.)

It appears now, even from this rather limited investigation that, before we can reach a clear picture of the distribution of *-l-* versus *-r-* in the post-R̥gvedic period⁹³⁾, several studies must be carried out. These should include, preferably, statistics of the occurrence of *l/r* in the various texts and in their constituent parts and text layers, as well as studies of particular words and word fields. Only a thorough study including an enumeration of such cases will allow to draw more detailed maps of isoglosses and sub-dialects⁹⁴⁾ which will make it possible to further demonstrate certain trends in the development of the Vedic dialects and to establish, for certain areas at least, the interrelations between the (surviving) texts and schools.⁹⁵⁾

§3. The suffix *-īya* in Pāṇini and the Veda

Two forms in of adjectives *-īya* (i.e. *śunāsirīya*, *upavasathīya*), found instead

NOTES ON VEDIC DIALECTS, (1)

of the normal Vedic *-(i)ya* have been treated in 'Tracing the Vedic dialects', § 6.5 p. 179 sqq.—Pāṇini 4.2.32 teaches, besides *śunāsīriya*, also: *dyāvāpr̥thivīya*, *marutvatīya*, *agnīṣomīya*, *vāstoṣpatīya*, and *gr̥hamedhīya*.⁹⁶⁾

Wackernagel-Debrunner, Altind. Gramm. II 2, §268 p.435 sq. report only a few R̥gvedic words that have the suffix *-īya*, namely the following: the numerals *dvitīya-*, *tr̥tīya-* *turīya-*, a few cases of *-ānīya-*, the place names *ārjikiya-* and *hari-yūpīya-* and the ritual term *gr̥hamedhīya-*. To this the AV adds: *agnīṣomīya-*, and *dakṣiṇīya-* *parvatīya-*. Wackernagel-Debrunner stress that the formation is more numerous in the YV and the Br̥h̥maṇās and Sūtras, as it is preferred in ritual contexts. Indeed, it seems that the suffix *-īya-* had its origin in a very limited context, that of numerals, place names and ritual terms (as the examples adduced by Pāṇini indicate as well⁹⁷⁾) and that it became very productive in the YV Saṃhitā and in the Br̥h̥maṇa periods.

This is also stressed by Wack.-Debr.II 2 p. 441 who underline⁹⁸⁾ that the suffix *-īya/-īya-* often is found in variation with *-iya/-iya-*, *-yā/-ya-* and that *-īya/-īya-* clearly is the younger formation.

The words mentioned by Pāṇini at 4.2.32 with variant forms in *-īya* are attested in Vedic as follows:

(N.-)WEST	CENTER	E. CENTER	EAST
<i>gr̥hamedhīya-</i> RV 7.56.14; KS 21.13 (<RV) MS 4.10.5 (<RV) Sūtras frequent:	TS 4.3.13.6		
	ŚŚS ĀpŚS, BhŚS HŚS	BŚS	KŚS
MŚS <i>gr̥hamedhīya-</i> KS 35.9 (=pākayajña);	TB 1.6.6.3; 1.6.7.1-3 KB 5.5		ŚBM 11.5.2.4;
GB 2.1.23 <i>vāstoṣpatīya-</i> Prose: ⁹⁹⁾ Sūtras frequent:	TS 3.4.10.3-4 ŚŚS BhŚS, ĀpŚS HŚS, VkhŚS AVPar. ŚGS	BŚS	
KGS	KauśS	BGS, BDhS	

M. WITZEL

vāstoṣpatyā-

MS 1.5.4.13;

GB 1.2.18;

Sutras:

MGS

VarŚS

VaitS

KāuŚS

AVPar

agnīṣomīya- (nearly all prose:) cf. Pāṇ. 4.2.138, 3.13

Mantra:

PS 16.111.6

ŚS 9.6.6

VSK 26.2.3

VSM 24.8

MS 2.6.1

Prose:

MS¹⁰⁰⁾

KS¹⁰¹⁾

TS¹⁰²⁾

Br. very frequent:

KaṭhB

TB

AB 2

KB

PB

JBa

ŚBK

ŚBM 1–5, 9, 11–13

GB,

Sutras (also compounds):

ŚŚS

ĀŚS

LŚS

JŚSKār

DŚS

MŚS

VarŚS

BŚS

ĀpSS, HŚS

KŚS

VkhŚS

ĀpDhS

KGS

agnīṣomya-

only in Pāṇ.

marutvatīya-

(partly prose):

MS 2.8.9, 2.11.5

TS 4.4.2.2

VSK 16.3.8

VSM 15.12, 18.20

KS 17.8

6.5.5.1–3

19.7.2

Prose:

MS 4.6.1, 4.6.8

TS 4.7.7.2,

KS 18.11, 28.3, 44.3

6.5.5.1–2

KpS

Br. very frequent:

AB 3–5

KB

AB 6–8

KĀ

ĀĀ

JB 3.179¹⁰³⁾

ŚBK

ŚBM 4, 8, 13

GB,

Chāg. Up. 23.11, 24.13

NOTES ON VEDIC DIALECTS, (1)

Sutras: very frequent (also in compounds):

	ŚŚS	ĀŚS
	BŚS	
MŚS	ĀpŚS, HŚS	
VārŚS	VkhŚS	
KāṭhŚS	Vait. S	
<i>marutvatya-</i> only in Pāṇ.		

Pāṇini's rule thus allows for *-ya* even where it is not attested (with the exception of: *vāstoṣpatya*, *gr̥hamedhya*, and *śunāsīrya*).

The distribution of *-īya-* thus is very varied:

In a case found in older texts (*gr̥hamedhīya*) it is widespread in various schools, geographical regions and texts; in other cases (such as *upavasathīya*, *vāstoṣpatīya*), the use of the form is limited to the central area (Pañcāla land, modern Uttar Pradesh); in one case (*śunāsīrya*) it has its origin in the Central area but spread to the East as well, and very late (KāṭhŚS¹⁰⁴), also to the East; in still another case its usage starts from the Western area (*agnīṣomīya*); or it is found widespread right from the Mantra period onwards (*marutvatīya*).

In addition, Wackernagel-Debrunner (II 2 p. 441 §268 d) adduce the following examples which are quoted here in their geographical and historical distribution in order to indicate the development of this suffix:

<i>parvatyā-</i>	RV				
<i>parvatīya-</i>			AV		
<i>marjalyā-</i>	RV				
<i>marjaliya-</i>		KS	TS		VS
<i>avarīya-</i>		KS-Aśv.			
<i>pārīya-</i>		KS-Aśv.			
<i>avāryā-</i>		MS, KS	TS	VSK	VSM
<i>pāryā-</i>	RV+				
<i>śatarudrīya</i> - ¹⁰⁵		KS			ŚBM
<i>śatarudrīya-</i>			TS, TB		
<i>vājaprasavyā-</i>		MS, KS		ŚBK	
<i>vājaprasavīya-</i>			TS, TB		ŚBM
<i>sajanya-</i>		KS			
<i>sajanīya-</i>			TS		
<i>rāṣṭrīya-/-īya-</i>		MS			
<i>rāṣṭrīya-/-īya-</i>		KS			
<i>rāṣṭriya-</i>	Pāṇ.	4.2.93, Mbhar.			

M, WITZEL

<i>yajnāyajñiya-</i>	KS AB, AĀ, PB, ŠB KGS, KṣudraS ChU, LŚS, DŚS MŚS	KB, JB ŚŚS, ĀpŚS		
<i>yajñāyajñiya-</i>	MS, KpS, PS	AV, TS BŚS ĀpŚS, HŚS VaikhŚS	VSK	VSM ŚBM KŚS
<i>yajñapātryā-</i>			ŚBK	
<i>yajñapatrīya-</i>				ŚBM
<i>jātyā-</i>				ŚBM
<i>jātīya-</i>			ŚBK	
<i>stokya-</i>		TB ŚŚS		
<i>stokīya-</i>		KB		ŚB
<i>stotriya-</i>	AB	KB		ŚBM
<i>stotriya-</i>	PB LŚS			
<i>homya-</i>		KauśS, Mbhar.		
<i>homīya-</i>	ChU, GGS			
<i>sattriya-</i>	KS Brāhmaṇas			
<i>sattriya-</i>		AV ĀpŚS		
<i>putrya-</i>	ŠB			
<i>putrīya-</i>	Pāṇ., Epic			
<i>aputriya-</i>	Pāṇ.	ŚGS		

(for double forms in Pāṇ, see above, note 96)

An evaluation of this evidence indicates that the distribution of the forms in *-īya-* generally follows the dialect features established in *Tracing*... However, each word has its own area of distribution, as should not surprise in the spread of a feature that still is expanding during the period in question.

Various texts of a particular Vedic school usually follow the same pattern (e.g. *śatarudrīya* TS, TB). However there are some cases where even a school is split: *-yajñīya/yajñīya-* in ĀpŚS or *stokīya* KB: *stokya* ŚŚS. Such cases need a special investigation.¹⁰⁶⁾

A particular geographical region sometimes is split (as already noticed in *Tracing*), but then according to the various schools and Vedas involved, e.g. North-Western Yajurvedic (KS) and Central R̥gvedic and Sāmavedic texts (KB, ŚŚS, JB) with *-yajñīya*:: a Yajurvedic text of the Southern part of the Western region (MS)

NOTES ON VEDIC DIALECTS, (1)

and Central Yajurvedic and Atharvavedic texts (TS, ŚS) with *-yajñīya-*.

Though the distribution of a feature such as the suffix under investigation is notoriously unpredictable with regard to the speed of its spread, there are some clear patterns:

—Some forms show a spread which starts at one historical level of Vedic and continues to spread during the following level (*-yajñīya*, *gṛhamedhīya*, cf. also *marjaliya*).

—Some words show a spread that transgresses geographically neighboring areas (*agnīṣomīya*, *marutvatiya*, *-yajñīya*).

—There is a clear variation between closely related but competing schools: ŚBM: ŚBK, KS: KpS, etc; sometimes this is even found inside a school, i.e. the Taitt. school (TS: TB).¹⁰⁷⁾

REGIONAL STYLISTIC FEATURES

The following paragraphs deal with features that at first may look more like matters of style than dialect variations; yet they add more materials and generally refine our picture of the many levels on which dialect features worked in the various schools and their respective territories. Again, only a small selection of the facts can be included in this article.

§4. (u) (ha) (vai)

The particle *u* in its various combinations (here studied especially in its occurrences with *ha* and *ha vai*) is of particular interest, as its use or non-use is one of the characteristics that distinguish certain schools. Though *u* is an old particle, frequently used in the RV,¹⁰⁸⁾ its use in the combinations mentioned above had become fashionable at a certain time and in a certain region. This group of particles occurs, indeed, in all possible combinations in the various texts, which makes it a shibboleth for textual adherence.¹⁰⁹⁾

The particle *u* in isolated position, without *ha* or *ha vai*, has been studied in detail by J.S. Klein.¹¹⁰⁾ He also treats the Middle Vedic texts briefly.¹¹¹⁾

A count of the cases of *u*, as reported by VPK, results in this table:

RV 501¹¹²⁾

SVK 2
(rest < RV)

SVJ 4
(rest < RV)

M. WITZEL

PS 173 (<RV 30) new: *143 RVKh 17 MS 102 (<RV 36) (pr. 17) *66 KS 99 (<RV 50) (pr. 28) *49 ABo ¹¹³ 11+	SS 219 (<RV 92) *127 TS 97 (<RV 45) (pr. 15) *52 TB ¹¹⁴ 11+ TA 11+ KB 11+ KĀ 11+ JBc 13+ JUB 10+ VādhB ¹¹⁶ ++	VSK 50 (<RV 20) *30 ŚBKo 16+ BŚS ¹¹⁷ ++	VSM 56 (<RV 25) *31 ŚBMo 12+ ABn 0? AĀ 6+
PB 2+ KṣudraS+ ¹¹⁵			

Only the Saṁhitās can be evaluated with some certainty, due to the unreliable materials in the later volumes of the Vedic Word Concordance (VPK). It is clear, above all, that the number of cases apart from the RV shrinks dramatically in Mantra language, i.e., in the two AV Saṁhitās¹¹⁸) (and also in VS). Both texts are smaller than RV, but contain less than half of the cases that they “should,” according to their size.¹¹⁹) The diminishing trend continues with equal speed in Saṁhitā prose; MS, KS, and TS all have only about half the cases they exhibit in their Mantra section. If both the Mantra and the Saṁhitā prose portions of these texts are taken together, the following picture emerges. KS has only 1/8 the number of independent cases¹²⁰) when compared with RV. TS¹²¹) has approximately 1/6, while MS,¹²²) however, still has about 1/5 of the cases in comparison to those of RV.

The difference between these texts is interesting. The relative strength of survival of *u* in the Kāṭha school¹²³) is surprising; MS has only a relative strength of 3/4 when compared to the occurrences in KS, and TS only 2/3. The use of *u* in prose, therefore, seems to have survived best in the Kāṭha area, although later on there is a sudden explosion of cases, indicating a veritable fashion in usage, in the area to the East of this school: in the texts of the Pañcāla region (VādhB, BŚS); this also affected the neighboring texts, ŚB and JB. Unfortunately, it still is impossible to gain a proper perspective on the Br. and Sūtra period, given the incomplete materials in VPK. Any reader of these texts, however, will have noticed the

NOTES ON VEDIC DIALECTS, (1)

sudden increase of *u* in the Central and Eastern texts of the late Br. and Sutra period.

A comparison of the use of *u* in collocation with other particles (which are better represented in VPK) is helpful to adumbrate this.

u ha:

The combination with the particle *ha* is of special interest as it occurs, from the beginning, with the perfect.¹²⁴⁾ It can, therefore, also be used as a counter-check or reconfirmation of the dialectal spread of the narrative perfect.¹²⁵⁾

The older, post-mantra texts do not have many occurrences of combinations with *u*:

MS

apparently has no occurrence of *u ha*, *u ha vai*¹²⁶⁾ but it has a case of *ha sma+āhuh*, and of *ha vai* or *khalu vai*.¹²⁸⁾

KS,

however, has a case of *u ha sma*, where MS has *ha sma*:

KS 31.2:3.8 *tad u ha sma-āhur*=KpS 47.2.¹²⁹⁾=MS 4.1.3:5.4 *tād dha sma-āhur*

Another typical feature of KS:: MS seems to be that KS has *ha vai* while MS has a pronoun+*vai*.¹³⁰⁾

KS 21.9:49.8 *Kaṇvo ha vai*...=where MS reads *tām vai Kāṇvah*... 3.3.9: 42.11 in a parallel passage; KS 27.5: 145.12, KpS 42.5: *etad dha vai Vipūjanas Saurakiḥ vidāṃ cakāra*<> MS 4.6.2: 79.18 *tēna vai Vipūjanah Saurakiḥ*;—KS also exhibits cases of a combination of *ha khalu vai*.¹³¹⁾

vindati ha khalu vai KS 33.1:17.10; *yo khalu vāva* 33.4:30.10.

TS

contains, according to VWC, many cases of *ha (vai)*, but they do not yet include a combination with *u*: *ha (vai)+uvāca* 11 cases, +*āha* 2, +*paṇṇaccha* 1, +*vidāṃ cakāra* 1, and 15 cases+perf.¹³²⁾ in the following books: TS 1 (4x same passage), 2 (1x), 5 (2x), 6 (6x), 7 (2x). This result underlines what has been said above; *u* is not frequent, yet, in normal argumentative Saṃhitā prose, its diffusion begins at a later stage.

AB:

16 cases of *ha*+perfect, notably in the later *pañcikās* (books), however, only a few which include *u*: *ha* 5x in book 7; *ha vai* 8x, especially in books 8 (1x in b.5, 1x in

b.3); but *u ha* only 1x in book 7 (7.22); cf. also *u haiva* 1x (7.34.9). Note that *vai* is especially used in books 1–5; it occurs in these collocations: *u khalu vai* 1x (5.31), *yady u vai* 1x (1.6).

The later fashion of using *u ha/u haiva* is found at AB 2.3 *u ha*, and in book 7.¹³³⁾

KB:

This text apparently does not favor combinations with *u* as well: *u ha sma+aha* 1x (2.9.27); cf. *nvā u* (i.e.: *nu vai u*) 1x (27.11.26), but *ha* 3x, *ha vai* 7x.

TB:

This text equally does not favor *ha+pres.* 1.1.2.2, 1.2.2.5 (3x), 2.3.8.3; *ha+fut.* 2.2.10.2; *ha+perf.*: 2.8.6.5 *ha vāva*; 3.8.6.3 *uvāca ha Prajatiḥ*; in Mantra: 2.8.6.6, 2.8.7.8, 2.8.8.1, 2.8.8.10;

further: *u vai*, for example at 3.12.4.4.

TĀ:

1.9.2 *ha uvāca Vyasaḥ Paraśaryaḥ*; 1.22.10 *etad ha sma vā ahuḥ*; 1.26.1 *atha ha sma aha*; 1.26.1 *atho ahuḥ*; note that all these occurrences are in a very late section (=KathB) of TĀ; however, single *ha* occurs in *Mantras* of this section: 1.4.2, 1.8.8, 1.10.2, 1.23.8.

In comparison with the above sporadic evidence, the texts coming from the more Eastern and Southern areas, called “South-Eastern Late Vedic” in the introduction (see above), exhibit various combinations of *u* with (*ha*) (*vai*) quite frequently.¹³⁴⁾

VādhB:

haiva 3x, but: *u ha* 4x (I, p. 9; 3.94, 4.49, 4.93.), and: *u ha vai* 25x in 4. *Mitteilung* alone; *u haiva* 4.7, 7.74, 4.102. Cf. also *u vai* 1.43, 4.92, *sa u vā eṣa* 4.113; note the “Taittirīya” type Sandhi of *u* in: *uv evaitad* 3.12, and *uv eva* VādhS 2, 7–8 and cf. AO 2, p.153, 158.¹³⁵⁾

VādhŚS:¹³⁶⁾

yady u 2.1, 5.3; *tam u* 4.2, 7.3; *etad u* 1.3; *u ha vai*, see VādhS 2.8, 9, 11; *ha sma+perf.* 3.1, etc.

BŚS (Br. chapters of book 18 only are taken into account here):

ha 3x (18.38, 18.41, 18.44); *ha vai* 3x (18.30, 18.38); *haiva* 1x (18.31); *ha sma vai* 1x (18.40); all of these collocations, notably, do not occur in collocation with *u*; compare, however, the late Sūtra portions, which have got *u*: Dvaidha Sūtra: *u khalu* (20.1); Karmānta Sūtra: *u khalu* 25.13, 25.24, *katham u khalu* 20.1, 24.32,

NOTES ON VEDIC DIALECTS, (1)

etc.

JB:

According to VWC (Br., 2nd ed.), there are only the following cases of *ha* (others have been included here from parts [§ 1–50, 124–212] of Caland's *Auswahl*, quoted with §):

haiva 1.1, 1.2;

ha vai 1.17;

ha+pres. 1.18, 3.377 (7x), 3.379 (4x), pres./opt. 3.377; *ha*+perf. (story) 1.285 (11x);

ha sma+pres. 2.8;

ha sma+*āha* § 168; but cf. also *ha*+*u* 2.279;

ha khali vai 2.281, 2.418;

u § 8, 32, 156, 157, 168, 192;

u eva § 151;

tad u § 34, 129, 171 (*teṣām u* 172), 172, 176, 192, 208 (*teṣām u*) 208;

tad u vai § 11, 129, 130, 167, 168, 187;

tad u sma+*āha* § 18;

tasmād u § 25, 145, 156, 160, 207;

sa u § 181,

sa u eva § 186;

ya u § 25, 209,

yad u § 15, 35, 180, 181, 186, 188, 192, 198, 201, 202, 203, 204, *yady u* § 13, 28, 126, 136, 192;

u vai 2.8, § 124, 126, 133, 134, 137, 139, 140, 142, 144, 167, 168;

u vāva § 136, 145;

u ha § 47, 49, 127, 130, 135, 136, 139, 140, 142, 143, 144, 151, 152 (*tasmād u ha* 156, *tad u ha* 164, *u haiva* 186, *tam u ha* 198, *tad u ha* 198, *sa u ha* 203, *tad u haiva* 203, 204, *tad u ha* 212,);

u ha vai is more common in the later parts of the text: § 133, 137, 143, 156, 176.

ŚBK¹³⁷):

ha+pres. 1.1.1.5, 6; 2.2.4.17; *evam ha sma*+pres. 1.1.1.6; *ha sma*+pres. 3.2.8.2, 3;

ha+perf. 1.1.1.3, 1.1.1.7, *ha sma*+perf. 3.2.8.2, 3; *ha vai*+perf. 1.1.1.4, 1.1.1.5,

1.1.1.6;
ha vai+pres. <*u vai*> 4.3.3.11; ŚBK 4.4.4.2 *aspardhanta*;
atha heyam tarhi+perf. 1.1.1.6;
 once *u* at 1.2.2.12; *u ca* 8x (2.4.4.4, etc.); *yady u vai* 1.1.1.9 (ŚBM *yady u*), 4.6.4.1;
 7.3.1.12; but: *yady uv e°* (with “Taittiriya” Sandhi) 7.5.1.16; *u ha* 4.1.1.7.

A comparison between ŚBK and ŚBM is instructive. There are only two cases involving *u ha* available from the Mādhy. text that have a parallel in the Kāṇva version:

ŚBM:	ŚBK:
1.1.1.7 <i>u ha</i> +perf.	1.1.1.3 <i>ha</i> +perf. (in a story)
1.1.1.10 <i>u ha sma+aha+api</i>	1.1.1.4 <i>ha vai</i> +perf.

Again, *u* seems to be typical for the Eastern (Mādhy.) rather than the more original Western (Kāṇva) texts (which belong, actually, in late Vedic to the Eastern Central area).

ŚBM:
ha+pres. 1.1.1.5, 1.1.1.19;
ha+perf. 1.2.4.5, 3.6.2.3, (story of Kadru), 3.6.2.4, 3.6.2.6, 3.6.2.8;
u ha+perf. 1.1.1.7, *u ha sma+aha+api* 1.1.1.10;
ha vai+perf. 1.1.1.16 (not mentioned in VPK Br. Vol. 2nd ed. s.v. *ha*); for many more examples of *u* see Delbrück, *Syntax*, p.499, 508 sqq.

The distribution according to schools and their texts is as follows (note that this is an incomplete listing, due to the lack of materials in VPK; + indicates probable abbreviation of entries by VPK; -I also list a few interesting collocations of *u* not involving *ha/vai*):

early	KS ¹³⁸	<i>ha sma</i>	2	TS	<i>ha</i>	18
Samh.		<i>ha sma vai</i>	4		<i>ha vai</i>	12
		<i>u ha sma</i>	1		<i>ha sma vai</i>	8
		<i>ha vai</i>	14		<i>ha tvai</i>	3
		<i>ha tvai</i>	2		<i>ha vāva</i>	1
		<i>ha khalu vāva</i>	1			
		<i>ha khalu vai</i>	1			
	MS ¹³⁰	<i>ha vai</i>	1+			
		<i>ha v eva</i>	1			
		(incompl.)				

NOTES ON VEDIC DIALECTS, (1)

early	AB	<i>ha</i>	16						
Brāhm.	ABo	<i>ha vai</i>	6	TB	<i>ha</i>	7++			
		<i>u khalu vai</i>	1		<i>ha vāva</i>	1			
		<i>yady u vai</i>	1		<i>u vai</i>	1			
				TA	<i>ha</i>	5++ ¹⁴⁰⁾			
					<i>ha sma</i>	2+			
<hr/>									
later	KB	<i>ha</i>	3	ŚBKo	<i>ha</i>	6+	ŚBM	<i>ha</i>	8+
Brahm.		<i>ha vai</i>	7		<i>ha sma</i>	6+		<i>u ha</i>	1+
		<i>u ha sma</i>	1		<i>ha vai</i>	7+		<i>ha vai</i>	1+
		<i>nvā u</i>	1						
	JB ¹⁴¹⁾	<i>ha</i>	5					<i>u ha vai?</i>	
		<i>ha vai</i>	1						
		<i>u ha</i>	23						
		<i>u ha vai</i>	7						
		<i>u haiva</i>	2						
		<i>haiva</i>	2						
		<i>ha khalu vai</i>	2						
<hr/>									
early	VādhB	<i>u ha</i>	4	BŚSb	<i>ha</i>	3			
Sūtras		<i>u ha vai</i>	25 ¹⁴²⁾		<i>ha vai</i>	3			
etc.		<i>u haiva</i>	3		<i>ha sma vai</i>	1			
		<i>ha vāva</i>	3						
		<i>ha sma vāva</i>	1						
		<i>ha sma vai</i>	2						
	VādhŚS	<i>u ha vai</i>	1+	BŚB	<i>u khalu</i>		ABn		
		<i>ha sma</i>	1+	(late)			<i>ha vai</i>	6	
							<i>ha</i>	5	
							<i>u ha</i>	1	
							<i>u haiva</i>	1	

The following conclusion can be drawn regarding the usage of *ha*: *ha*±perf. first occurs in a few statements of MS and KS (such as “XY knew this”), and then frequently in TS (a text of somewhat later composition), as well as in the later books of AB (but not in the older, Western, books 1–5); it is typical for the Central, Southern and Eastern texts: VādhB, BŚS, JB, ŚB, and AB (6–8).¹⁴³⁾

Already in the older Samhitās, *ha* had sometimes been used to indicate that someone formerly had “known”, had “seen”, discovered something about the ritual. This kind of one-time statement consequently was expanded to other, more general statements, to short abbreviative tales about mythological events, and finally to relating of any event of the past.

Just like the use of the perfect in narrative passages (see *Tracing* §5.2), *ha* and its collocations (*ha vai*, *u ha vai*, etc.) predominate in the East, and, in the late Br./

early Sūtra texts, also in the South and the Center.

The collocation with *u* (*u ha vai*, *u ha*) is typical for the East but includes, at a late stage, the Vādhulas of the Central area as well (Vādhula Anvākyāna).

The late Vedic spread of *u*:

Occurrence of *u* in collocations¹⁴⁴⁾

<MS>			
<KS>	<TS>	<ŚBK>	ŚBM
<ABo>	<KB>		
	VādhB	BŚS	
	JB		ABn

In the future, a more detailed study should not only be made of the distribution of *u* and its collocations in those texts that are not well covered by VWC, but also of the syntactic differences (if any) of the use or non-use of *u* in the texts of the later Brāhmaṇa/early Sūtra period.

Some INDIVIDUAL CASES

The materials presented thus far can be extended further by including studies of single words and their changing usage in time and geographical spread, as well as closer look at various trends using one word instead of another (see *Tracing*, on *punarmṛtyu* and on *pāpa*).

Similar distributional studies can also be made of many particular words. Here I add only:

§5. *pitāmātar-/mātāpitar-*

The *dvandva* compound *mātara-pitārau*, listed by Pāṇini at 6.3.32, is interesting, for he regards it as an expression taught by the Northern¹⁴⁵⁾ (*udīcyā*) grammarians.¹⁴⁶⁾ Wackernagel regards the word as derived from RV, VS *mātāra-pitārau* (RV 4.6.7 *mātāra-pitāra*). The similar formation *māta-pitārau* is found in AVŚ.

Pāṇ.:

mātara-pitarau (= “Northern”)

mātā-pitārah:

RVKh, MS, KS, KpS, TS, VSM, VSK

pitārāmātara (= “Vedic”)

pitārā-mātārā

KS!, SV(K), TS, VSM,

NOTES ON VEDIC DIALECTS, (1)

ABn, ŚBM, ŚBK
KaṭhB, MaitrU
mātārā-pitārā RV 4.6.7

ŚBK, ŚBM
late Up.¹⁴⁸⁾

Unless Pāṇini only wants to note the unusual case ending of *mātara-* as a local peculiarity taught by Northern grammarians, as seems probable, it is only the cases in KS, and perhaps also in MS, that could be invoked to substantiate his claim for a Northern usage of *mātara-pitārau* as far as word position is concerned. The compound (in its various forms) is, however, too widely used to be called “Northern.” More importantly, *pitārā-mātārā*, the form which according to Pāṇini 6.3.33, should be “Vedic” (*chandasi*) rather than “Northern”, is indeed found in a North-Western (i.e. Kuru) and probably also a Northern (Gandhāra) Vedic text known to Pāṇini, that is KS 14.1:200.16. Pāṇini’s knowledge of Vedic texts does not fit, in this instance, the evidence of the texts. It is surprising that Pāṇini neglects RV 4.6.7.

If Vedic usage is, indeed, closely linked with the “*bhaṣa*,” the educated Sanskrit speech of a certain area, the claim for a typically “Northern” form *mātā/mātara-pitr-* could only be made if we think of Pāṇini as belonging to the post-YV-Saṃhitā period, and as having a relative date earlier than that of AB 6–8, AĀ, etc., and when we assume that he did not know or did not wish to acknowledge the (fairly late) Eastern Vedic texts¹⁴⁹⁾ such as ŚB.¹⁴⁹⁾

To enlarge upon this topic, the collocations as found in Oertel, *Wortstellungsvarianten* (SB Akad. München 1940, p. 81) may be adduced.

The “Northern” version (as far as word position is concerned) is represented in the following texts:

<i>yan mātaram pitaram</i>	ŚS, PS, MS,	<i>yat pitaram mātaram vā</i>	KS, KpS
<i>vā jihimsima</i>	TS, TB, TĀ 2.6.1, ĀŚS	<i>jih°</i>	
<i>mātā pitā ca</i>	ŚS	<i>pitā ca mātā ca retaso</i>	PS
<i>retaso bhavāthaḥ</i>		<i>bhavāthaḥ</i>	

But often the same texts have the opposite version as well:

<i>mātā pitā ca</i>	KS, KpS	<i>pitā mātā ca dadhatur</i>	TS, ĀŚS, MŚS
<i>dadhatur nv agre</i>		<i>yad (nv) agre</i>	
<i>mātā ca pitā ca</i>	ŚS	<i>pitā mātā ca</i>	PS ¹⁵⁰⁾

One can also compare the well-known phrase, TU 1.11 = KaṭhŚiU 11:¹⁵¹⁾ *mātr̥devo bhava, pit̥r̥devo bhava...*

The texts which could be called “Northern”, or which are situated on the border of the Udīcya territory, like KS and AB, participate in both groups, that is

those which place *mātr* and those which place *pitṛ* first. But some Central (TS) and Eastern texts like VS, ŚB (M, K) agree with this usage. Strictly speaking, however, Pāṇini's observation concerns, as has been pointed out above, only the compound, and here the usage in the texts runs counter to Northern (RV, KS), Western (MS, KS, KaṭhB, AB, MU), central (TS) and Eastern (VS, ŚBK, ŚBM, AB 6–8) texts.

This quotation of Pāṇini from the Northern *bhāṣa* therefore cannot be directly aligned with any dialect area known from the Vedic texts; this is a useful conclusion, as it points to the gaps in our knowledge of old Indo-Aryan in general. A brief glance at the maps of schools and texts provided in *Tracing* indicates that there are some major areas of Northern India for which the texts provide little or no information.¹⁵² This especially concerns the Panjab (with the exception of Pāṇini's Gandhāra homeland), as well as Sindh and a major part of the area South of the Ganges (for which we only have JB and JUB evidence).

§6. Typical formulas of various śākhās

In conclusion, attention is drawn to a preliminary and, of course, quite incomplete collection of some phrases found in the various texts that are typical of the various schools and areas.

* *brahmanvadino vadanti*, and: *tad ahuḥ*, used in the older Saṃhitās and Br., in order to quote opinions of other ritual specialists. It is not always clear whether *tad ahuḥ* indicates the communis opinio of the Vedic people or only that of ritual specialists.

* *ya evam vidvān* KS, ca. 120 times, but ca. 80 times in MS and TS; the more common formula is *ya evam veda*;¹⁵³ cf. also *ya evam etad veda*, *ya u cainam veda*, *evamvid*,¹⁵⁴ *yasyaivam viduṣa* VādhB, KS, KaṭhB; see Caland, AO IV p. 309 n. 4=Kl. Schriften p. 309.

* *iti vadantaḥ* AB 2.22.1, BŚS, and ŚB when referring to the opinion of others, see Caland, *Über BŚS* p. 53.

* *athataḥ* ŚB, BŚS, KB, AB etc., see Caland, *Über BŚS* p. 53.

* *tasyoktam brahmaṇam*, AB.

* *iti brahmaṇam udāharanti* AB.

* *tad vyākhyāyate* ŚB 1.7.4.4, explains ritual through a story; ŚBK 2.7.2.1;¹⁵⁵ *ity akhyāyate* JB 1.165 (at the end).

* *tat tan nāḍṛtyam* "this is not to be followed, observed" AB 1–5, AĀ 1.2.3, see Keith AĀ transl., p. 176, n. 1; Aufr. ed. AB, p. 432.

* but contrast: *tat tathā na kuryāt (tad u punaḥ paricakṣate)* AB 6–8¹⁵⁶, or *na*

NOTES ON VEDIC DIALECTS, (1)

tad adriyate KĀ, KB, see Lévi, *Sacr.*, p. 38 n. 6, 44 n. 1.

* *tv eva sthita*—KB, see Caland, ed. ŚBK, p. 84.

* *tv eva sthitam*, ŚBK, Cal. p. 84; VādhB, see Cal. AO 2, p. 155, *etat sthitam* VādhB, see AO IV, p. 213.

* *eṣa eva sthitiḥ* ŚBM, ŚBK, Cal. p. 84; *eṣa sthitiḥ* VādhB, see AO 2, p. 155.

* *ity etat ekam...ity etad ekam...* BŚS, while VādhS uses *athaikam...athaikam...* when different opinions are mentioned; see Caland, AO II, p. 155=*Kl. Schriften* p. 290.

* *tad ṛjudha samtiṣṭhate* “this according to the well-known procedure” BŚS, see Caland, *Über BŚS*, p. 54; cf. Vādh B ṛju-, see AO 4, p. 213.

* *etāvan nāna* “this much is different” BhŚS, VkhŚS, see Kashikar, ed. BhŚS p. LXXXIII.

* *atha vai bhavati*, BŚS, very frequent, used when quoting a Br. passage of the Taitt. school, see Kashikar, ed. BhŚS, p. LXXVII.

* *iti vijñāyate*, BŚS (frequently), also in BhŚS; ĀpŚS 15.6.13, etc., used for quotations taken from a Brāhmaṇa; ĀpŚS 21.2.10, cf. Kashikar, ed. BhŚS p. LCII.

* *iti uktam* ĀpŚS, sometimes used to quote a Br. passage, see Kashikar, ed. BhŚS p. LXXXII.

* *ity aparam, ity eke*, used, e.g., in ĀpŚS to quote the opinion of others, see Garbe, ed. ĀpŚS III, p. XIV, Kashikar, ed. BhŚS p. XCIV.

* *sāyujyam salokatam jayati* VādhB 4.94

sāyujyam sārūpatam salokatam āsnute AB 1.6

sāyujyam salokatam āpnoti, TB 3.10.11.6 (<KāṭhB)

(...*sāyujyam*), *sarṣṭitām samānalokatam yanti* TB 3.12.9.8 (<KāṭhB).

* repetition of the last sentence at the end of a chapter in AB, and in many other texts, including some Upaniṣads. Note the special conditions regarding this in VādhS, see W. Caland, *Kl. Schriften*, p. 268 sqq. passim.

Notes

- 1) ‘On the localisation of Vedic texts and schools’ (Fel. Vol. Eggermont: India and the Ancient World, ed. by G. Pollet, Leuven 1987, pp. 173–213) and ‘Tracing the Vedic dialects’, in C. Caillat, ed., *Dialectes dans les littératures Indo-Aryennes*, Paris, 1989; the second number of this series will appear in the Felicitation Volume G.C. Kashikar, Poona 1991 (§ 7–13).
- 2) Another type of OIA could be represented in the Gāthās and Ślokas that are contained in the various Vedic texts (almost completely collected by P. Horsch, *Die vedische Gāthā- und Śloka-Literatur*, Bern 1966). I will deal with this in a further instalment of this series. A first impression, however, seems to indicate that the Gāthās and Ślokas follow the trends found in their host texts.
- 3) This has been discussed in § 9 of “Tracing the Vedic dialects”.—Cf. also the forthcoming ar-

M. WITZEL

- ticle by C. Caillat, a lecture given at the First International Vedic Conference, held at Harvard Univ., June 1989
- 4) For ready reference I repeat the major schools and their areas:
- | | | | |
|-------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------|
| (N.-) WEST: | CENTER: | E. CENTER: | EAST: |
| KURU | PAÑCĀLA | KOSALA | VIDEHA |
| Kaṭha (KS, KpS) | Taittiriya (TS, TB) | Kaṇva (ŚBK) | Mādhyandina (ŚBM) |
| Aitareyin (AB:
older part) | Kauṣītaki (KB, KĀ) | Baudhāyana
(BŚS) | AB (later part)
Śākalya's RV |
| Kaṭhuma (PB, ChU) | *Śāṭy.Br.> JB | | *Bhāllavin Br. (SV) |
| Paippalādin (PS) | Śāunaka (ŚS=AVŚ) | | |
- 5) See *Tracing Vedic Dialects*, pp. 224 sqq.
- 6) For some indication of this, see author, *Regionale und überregionale Faktoren in der Entwicklung vedischer Brahmanengruppen in Mittelalter*. (Mater. zu den ved. Schulen, 5). *Regionale Tradition in Südasien*, ed. by H. Kulke and D. Rothermund (=Beiträge zur Südasienforschung 104), Heidelberg 1986, pp. 37–76
- 7) Except for some easily detectable phonetical features and influences of the local script on the actual form of the text. For example, there is the Kashmiri preference for writing *śch* instead of “normal” Vedic *ch* or *cch* (such as in *gacchati*); the Gujarati peculiarity of the MS Sandhi *-ñ ch-* (<-t ś-, as in *uñchiṣṭa* for *ucchiṣṭa*) seems to be based on medieval manuscripts, see Lubotsky, IJ 25, p. 167–179. Here also belong cases of medieval North Indian peculiarities such as ŚB or VS 1.1–2: *vvāyavas sttha, pprārppayatu, śśreṣṭhatamāya karmmaṇa appyayādhvam, bahuvir, viśśvadhā, vvasoḥ*, (cf. also VIJ XII p. 128 sqq., and *Tracing*, p. 109, and note 30) or South Indian (Taittiriya) writings such as *sāvithrī*.
- 8) To mention just one case: the Abhinihita Sandhi, first securely attested in Pāṇini's rules (6.1.109) has been carried through in all Vedic texts with just a few overlooked passages that have preserved older forms; on the other hand, Pāṇini himself attests other pronunciations as still existing in his time (see *Tracing* §6.7, p. 188), and while pseudo-restitutions (–o a– etc.), have been introduced by the redactors such as Śākalya, in many passages from the RV downwards. The texts, in their present redacted form, exhibit a pseudo-unity (for example, –o '–) which never existed during the Vedic period. It will be one of the tasks of future research to establish the proper forms of Sandhi and other phonetic peculiarities for each Vedic school. This is, as any investigation of the Paippalāda material will quickly show, not an easy task (see below §1, and cf. Prolegomena on AV tradition, forthcoming).
- 9) See note 4
- 10) If viewed in opposition to the older Kuru-Pañcāla texts such as PS, KS, MS, TS, AB etc.
- 11) The case of *vai* is similar. In some late texts, such as TĀ, *vai* is no longer employed in the typical identifications (e.g.: *reto 'gniḥ*); they have become too commonplace to need any stress, (as was still needed at the time of the Saṁhitās).
- 12) And again, as far as the myths are concerned, the older, traditional beginning sentences and the often younger phrases that enlarge on a traditional topic, as has been pointed out recently by S. Jamison at the First International Vedic Workshop, held at Harvard University in June 1989 (publ. in press).
- 13) S. Jamison, personal communication.
- 14) Note WZKS 24, p. 52, 74 on the relation of the Kaṭha: Taitt. school.
- 15) For the abbreviations of texts see *Tracing the Vedic dialects*
- 16) See also Ved. Var. II, §885 sqq.; subsequently, I always arrange the texts in geographical order from West to East (horizontally), and in quasi-historical order (vertically).

NOTES ON VEDIC DIALECTS, (1)

- 17) exceptionally –o a–, see below
- 18) but: 19.52.15b *daśa muṣkāv ulūkyāḥ*, 16.83.2c *sāhnātīrātrāv ucchiṣṭe*, 16.153.8c *te brahma kṛtvā samidhāv upāsta*, which probably all are due to Barret; note the same problem for other still unedited books of PS, below in note 55.
- 19) RV Prāt. 129 (2.9) and 135 (2.11), see Ved. Var. II §855, and cf. Whitney, *ad Atharva-Veda Prātiśākhya*, 3.40 (repr. Varanasi 1962, p. 147).
- 20) AVPrāt. 2.21 sq.; see Ved. Var. §885; note a case in ŚS which is taken from RV where –au u–>–ā u–.
- 21) Atharva-Veda Prātiśākhya, 3.40 (ed. W.D. Whitney, repr. Varanasi 1962)
- 22) *aśvinā udajayatām* 4.8.9; *aśvinā ūcatuḥ* 7.16; *dvā ubhayoḥ* 8.5; see ed. Aufrecht p. 427.
- 23) Vāj. Prāt. 4.124 prescribes this but quotes other authorities at 4.125 which agree with the practice of RV, VSM.
- 24) For example KpS 2.4 *viṣṇav ete*=RV 7.99.3 <> KS 2.10:266.10 *viṣṇa ete*, see Oertel, SB München 1934 p. 17.
- 25) Taitt. Prāt. 10.19; but 10.29 mentions another teacher who prescribes *av*, *āv* in all cases, as do the MSS.
- 26) See Caland, ed. ŚBK, Vol. I, Lahore 1926 p. 35, cf. Whitney, Grammar §134.
- 27) For example PB 11.4.13 *bārhatō ’sāv ubhe*.
- 28) For example *manāv ṛtu* PB 5.9.4.
- 29) See Keith, tr. AĀ p. 55; Aufrecht, ed. p. 427: *aṣṭāv-aṣṭā udyante* 1.3.5; *aindrāgnā ūrū* 1.5.1; *karnā upaśṇuyāt* 3.2.4; *tā unātīrīktau* 1.4.2; *ṇakāraṣakārā upāptan* 3.2.6;
- 30) For example: JB 1.1=Caland §1: *dvau samudrāv acaryau, mahantāv āvarīvartete; śyāmaśa-balāv eva* JB 1.6=§2; §186 *bhisajyantāv idam, imāv upāgatām*, etc., *somaḥ iti*; presently, I cannot find cases of –o u, ū–.
- 31) Also, (*pratīka*) at PSK 13.9.1=PSOr 12.18, 15.22.3, 18.64.6, 20.43.7; cf. author, IJ 25, p. 239; cf. also BhGS 2.7., HGS 2.7.2, ĀpMp 2.16.2, HirPiS 18.10. The text runs: PS 10.9.10 *uruṇaśa-h-asuyutṛ [] udumbalau. yamasya dūtau carato janān anu | tāv asmabhyam dṛṣaye sūryāya punar dātam asum adyeḥa bhadram*; Note the Orissan glide –h–; more frequent is a glide –y–.
- 32) Keith, AĀ transl. p. 55: *āu>āv not in AĀ 5=Sūtra* (where –ā!); cf. also Pāṇ. 8.3.17–22: *asā ādityaḥ*.
- 33) The text editions of all the various Up.s having this *śānti* seem to follow the tradition with the Sandhi *nāv*, even those of Kaṭha Up.; this may, however, be due to the fact that the Up.s were transmitted outside the text corpus of the Kaṭha school.
- 34) There is, however, one single Kaṭha inscription of the 11th cent. in the Malwa area, see Renou, Ecoles, p. 203. For the tradition of this school see StII 8/9, pp. 183 sqq., 223 sqq.; author, The Veda in Kashmir, ch. VIII (forthc.)
- 35) It is quite a different matter that some other texts transmitted in Kashmir (such as the Kashmir RV and PS) are influenced by the dominant Veda tradition in the Valley, i.e. that of the Kaṭhas.
- 36) Note some other special Sandhis in MS, see M. Lubotsky, IJ 25, 167 sqq.
- 37) See *Localisation*, p. 199, *Tracing*, passim, and cf. KS 12.13.
- 38) And especially in *Tracing*, passim and p. 240 n. 334.
- 39) cf. *Tracing*, §5.1, and for –l– §6.3.
- 40) *Tracing*, §5.1.
- 41) For more details, see “The development of the Vedic Corpus and of the Vedic Schools”, in Proceedings of the First International Vedic Workshop, Harvard University, June 1989,

- forthc.; cf. for the time being, "The development of the Vedic Canon", Proceedings of a conference held at Toronto in Oct. 1988, and to be edited by W. Ottobey and Julia Cheng; cf. also StII 13/14 (Fs. W. Rau), p. 363 sqq., esp. 378, 402 sqq.
- 42) Cf. the *Śākala* ritual at AB 3.43.5 (a text from the Panjab), Greek: *Sāggala* ~ modern Sialkot in the eastern Panjab. For Greek *Sāggala*, see Arrianus, *Anabasis* 5.22.2, in the land of the *Kathaíoi* (= *Kaṭha*).
- 43) See *Tracing*, §6.3.
- 44) See Renou, JA 1948, p. 35 §16.
- 45) Unfortunately, the Sandhi forms in the *Śākalya* hymn 10.95, as compared to the *ŚB* version, are inconclusive in this matter. There is no vowel Sandhi of the above type; cf. nevertheless: 3c *avīre krātau ví*.
- 46) See *Localisation*, p. 186.
- 47) The comparative age is indicated, as is well known, by the fact that originally intervocalic *-iy-*, that had already developed to *-y-*, is no longer affected (*ile : iḍya-*).
- 48) See *Tracing*, §6.3.
- 49) For some articles (in the press) on this point, see note 41.
- 50) Cf. Oertel, SB Akad. München 1934, p. 14 sqq. and cf. Raghu Vira, ed. KpS, repr. p. XII (with partly incorrect reasoning: *-l-* is also found in *Kaṭha* texts (see above); *Anusvāra* before *ś, ṣ, s, h* is due only to the lackadaisical ways of late medieval scribes; the system of marking the accents resembles that of the RV, but is found also in old MSS of VS (1423 A.D. and earlier, see author in VIJ 12—which unfortunately contains many printing mistakes). The true Mantra variants and the division of KpS in *Aṣṭakas*, however, remain valid arguments when comparing KpS with RV.
- 51) Note that the Orissa MSS have a glide here: *-y-ūtaye*; this kind of glide is not unfrequently met with in PS as transmitted in Orissa (e.g. at PS 6.15.8 *ta-y-eka*°; 6.16.5d *tuwigrīvā iverate* (Or. mss. *yuverate*); 7.4.1b *citrā imā* (Or ms. *-y-amā*); 9.11.2b *rudras te* (Or. MS *tey*) *aṃsum*; 14.6.10c *ārpitā etāñ* (Or. MS *yetam*); 20.3.3d *prayacchan pura* (Or MS *pura-y-*) *etu*; cf. also 20.6.2b *divo ya* (Kashm. MS *ya-y*) *eka*; in general, cf. also Wack.-Debr., Ai. Gr., I, Nachtr. p. 183: 233.18 *ga iṣṭa*°, Ep. Ind. 8.16.
- 52) The Orissa MSS all read *viṣṇu*!
- 53) At PS 5.7.10c *pra pyāyatām viṣṇo āsraya reto*; 4.12.3a *sahasva manyo abhimātim asme*; 4.32.1a *yas te manyo 'vidhad vajra sāyaka*. This deviation probably is due to a restauration, at the time of redaction, of the "normal *Abhinihita*".
- 54) PS 20.14.3c *dūra[t] tva manya ābhrtam*; thus all MSS, but one Or. MS has *manyā*. There is no ready explanation for this but to suppose influence from other cases where *-āv* precedes *u/ū-*.
- 55) Note that only books 16 and 19 are involved of which I cannot check the Orissa MSS right now; cf. above, note 19.
- 56) See *Prolegomena*, forthcoming, and cf., for the time being, ZDMG Suppl. Bd. VI, 1985, p. 256 sqq.
- 57) See K. Hoffmann, Aufsätze, p. 15 sqq.
- 58) See W. Caland, *Kleine Schriften*, Stuttgart 1990, p. XIV.
- 59) See author, *Tracing*, note 20, p. 227 and note 317, table p. 239, and table p. 251.
- 60) See VIJ 12, p. 490, and Vasudha XV, No. 12 (Kathmandu, Oct. 1976).
- 61) See Wackernagel-Debrunner, *Altind. Gramm.* I, p. 215 §191c, 189b.
- 62) Collected in his Erlangen thesis, *Die „I. Präsensklasse“ im Vedischen. Untersuchung der vollstufigen thematischen Wurzelpräsentia*, Wien 1987, p. 94 sq.

NOTES ON VEDIC DIALECTS, (1)

- 63) See *Tracing*, p. 101 n.6; cf. also the story in JB 2.100–102 Caland §133: Darbha Śātānīki is called “*Darbha*” even by the boys of the Pañcala; this name is changed to *Kuśa* later on, out of respect.
- 64) cf. TS 1.6.3.
- 65) cf. KpS 6.9, TB 1.1.5, 1.1.3.
- 66) Rāthaprotā Dārbyā 2.1.3:4.3.
- 67) Cf. KpS 46.5, TS 7.2.8.
- 68) Cf. JB 2.53=Caland §124, VadhB 4.37.
- 69) Cf. also VadhB 3.87 (Keśin Maitreya), 3.46, 3.94, 4.37, 4.102.
- 70) Cf. JUB 3.31, for variants see Caland, PB transl. ad loc.
- 71) Cf. JB 2.100–102 Caland §133.
- 72) Cf. also BŚS 18.19, 14.7, 17.54 where only Keśin (with Dār/lbhya) is mentioned.
- 73) Cf., however, O.v. Hinüber’s note, in his Überblick, p. 109 sq. on the distribution of *r/l* and its phonetic character within the same dialect/area.
- 74) The various objectively existing historical levels in Vedic Sanskrit and in Vedic texts were apparently regarded by the authors of the texts as both historical and “social”: Sometimes the texts regard the forms of the Mantras as archaic, see now J. Gonda, *Mantra interpretation in the Śatapatha-Brahmaṇa*, Leiden 1988, S. Jamison, *Mantra glosses in the ŚB*, Hoenigswald-Fs., Tübingen 1987, p. 169 sqq.; see already author, *Kaṭha-Āraṇyaka* (Kathmandu 1974) 2.99 (*saddāstha-* in Mantra :: *grhā-* in Brahm.), with commentary in unpubl. thesis, Erlangen 1972, *ad loc.*).—In other cases, the texts make a distinction between human and divine speech. For example, at MS 1.5.12:81.3–4, the gods use the archaic form *rātrim* while the author of this YV Saṃh. text itself already uses *rātrim*, without any discussion. (A similar case is the well known ŚB distinction between *arvan* : *aśva* : *hari* : *haya*, the name of the horse with the gods, men and ancestors, ŚB 10.6.4.1,—see *Tracing*, p. 101.)
- 75) RV 1.65.4; 9.97.11; 1.135.6; 9.62.8; 9.75.4; RVKh 2.12.2; SVK 2.370 <RV, SVJ 3.30.13 <RV; PS 16.75.12; 16.139.18.
- 76) According to the Vedic Word Concordance:
 PS 2.33.2; 2.83.2; 16.53.5; 16.100.12; 16.111.2; 17.9.1; 17.29.11; 19.47.12; 20.60.11; 4.15.3; 17.16.7; 16.149.2; 4.7.7.
 ŚS 4.12.5; 9.6.2; 9.12.15; 10.7.20; 10.9.2, 24; 12.11.7; 12.4.8;
 MSP 1.8.1, 10. 12; 3.3.3; 3.11.9²; 12,21;
 KSP 6.1.2; 13.10; 21.4; 34.12; 36.6; 38.3; KSAśv^m 10.4
 KpS 3.12; 4.1; 31.19; 39.4;
 TS 5.1.26; 5.2.11.2;
 TSp 7.4.9.1
 VSM 19.21²; 23.36
 VSK 21.6.13²; 25.7.4.
- 77) RV 9.112.4.
- 78) ŚS 20.133.6.
- 79) RV 8.31.9; 10.86.16–17; 1.126.7; 8.91.6;
 ŚS 20.126.16–17;
 PS 4.26.6; cf. PS 4.24.2; 1.49.3;
- 80) RVKh 4.7.6–7; ŚS 5.5.7; PS 6.4.6; there is no *romaśavakṣanā*; see also *lomaśasakthya* VS 24.1, VSK 26.1.3, TS 5.5.23.1, KS Aśv. 8.2, *lomasakthya* MS 3.13.2.
- 81) PS 9.22.37; 19.4.15; 19.18.4–5; 20.51.8.
- 82) ŚS 12.3.54; 10.2.11; 7.78.1; 12.3.21;

- PS 17.4.4; 1.94.3; 2.64.1; 16.60.3; 17.2.2; 17.39.1.
- 82a) Only TB 1.1.6.6 and TĀ/TU. ĀpŚS 22.14.20.
- 83) PB 20.13.5.
- 84) KB 10.1. -
- 85) ŚBK 4.3.4.7, with the typical adherence of the Kāṇvas to Western norms. ŚBM 13.8.3.13.
- 86) JB 3.113, JUB 3.64.
- 87) TU 1.11, TB 1.1.6.6.
- 88) *Kirāta*: VS 30.16, VSK 34.3.3, TB 3.4.12.1, PB 13.12.5.
- 89) *Kairātika*: PS 16.16.4a *Kairātikā kumārikā*, ŚS 10.4.14; cf. also (*ā*)*rabh*: (*ā*)*labh* (see T. Goto); *ruc*: *luc* (K. Hoffmann, Aufs.), *rikṣa*: *likṣa* (Sūtras); cf. also: *śri*: *aślīla*, *ślīpāda* (*śīpāda*), *varcas*: *yājñavalkya*, *śruṣ*: *śloka*, etc.
- 90) *Kilāta*: in JB 3.168–9, ŚB 1.1.4.14, ŚBK 2.1.3.17 *kilāta-ā/ākuli/i*, the two priests of the Asuras.
- 91) *Kailāta*: PS 8.2.5a *kailāta pr̥ṣṇa upatṛṇya babhrau*; should one compare also *Kailāsa* (a mountain, KaṭhB ed. Caland, Versl. 1920 p. 486): *kilāsa* (illness), which has its origin in the mountains?
- 92) A provisional count of the forms with *kar-*/*kur* vs. *kr̥ṇo*/*kr̥ṇu-* in PS shows 30 forms of *kur-* vs. 185 of *kr̥ṇu/v-* (incl. 37 of *kr̥ṇ-*) and 11 of *karo-* vs. 231 of *kr̥ṇo-*.
- 93) Of interest, and fitting the above scheme of the distribution of *l/r* is the corruption of **abhi-gur vadāh** > *abhi gulbadhanāḥ* MS 4.9.12:133:1–3, (*abhi-gur vṛdhānaḥ* TĀ 4.20.2, *abhi kūrvaṭa* KaṭhĀ 1.198.11); see K. Hoffmann, StII 5/6 p. 90.—For the interchange between *l/r* in ŚBM/ŚBK, see Caland, ed. ŚBK, p. 37 §5j. The Kāṇvas usually have *r*, while the Mādhy. have *l*; this underlines the usual Western preferences of the Kāṇvas, while the Mādhy. *l* agrees with the ‘Eastern’ *l* in Middle-Indian and the Pkts.—
- 94) Numerous other investigations are possible; I select only a few examples: the spread of the verb *gad* which seems to have originated in the Pāñcāla land (TB+), cf. Lüders, Phil. Ind., p. 435 sq., Kuiper, IJ 4, p. 273 sq.; or the restriction of the verb *ilayati* to some texts, see J. Narten, IJ 10, 239 sqq.; or the difference in sounds of RV *vṛād* vs. post-Rgvedic *mṛād*; cf. a similar distribution in *paḍbīṣa/paḍvīṣa* (cf. StII 8/9, p. 156 sqq.).

A mere change in expression, which nevertheless agrees with the various dialect groups established in *Tracing...*, and also agrees with the divisions of ŚB, may be noted in margin: *dvādaśa vai māsāḥ saṃvatsaraḥ* MS, KS, KpS, TS, TB, TĀ, VādhB, PB, JB, GB; ŚB 6–10, 13,

dvādaśa vai māsāḥ saṃvatsaraḥ AB-6, KB, dto. °*ha vai* GB,

dvādaśa māsāḥ sa saṃvatsaraḥ MS, KS, KpS, TS, PB, (AB with presumptive *tāvan*),

dvādaśa māsāḥ saṃvatsarasya ŚB 1–5, 11–13, 14.2 and typically, ŚBK 1;

dvādaśa māsā pañca/ṣaḍ/sapta ṛtavaḥ saṃvatsaraḥ ŚB 8, ṣaḍṛtu KB, ŚB 6–10, 13, *pañca ṛtavaḥ saṃvatsaraḥ* ŚB 6–9, JB, VādhB, also: °*vai*° TB,

ṣaḍ ṛtavaḥ saṃvatsaraḥ ŚB 6–7, 12–13, TĀ,

PB, JB, also: °*vai*° MS, KS, KpS, TS, KB, JB, VādhB,

sapta ṛtavaḥ saṃvatsaraḥ ŚB 6–9,

traya/pañca/ṣaḍ ṛtavaḥ saṃvatsarasya ŚB 1–5, 11–12, ŚBK, GB,

trayodaśa māsāḥ saṃvatsaraḥ MS, KS, KpS, TS, VādhB, ŚB 6–9, 13,

trayodaśa māsāḥ saṃvatsarasya ŚB 3, 14. 1–3, GB,

caturviṃśatir ardhmāsāḥ saṃvatsaraḥ TS, TB, PB, ŚB, VādhB, dto. °*vai*° MS,

caturviṃśatīḥ saṃvatsarasyardhamāsā KS, KpS, PB, KB, ŚB 2–5, 11,

caturviṃśatir ardhmāsā saṃvatsarasya KS, KpS, PB, KB, ŚB 2–5, 11, ŚBK; see Oertel, Fs.

NOTES ON VEDIC DIALECTS, (1)

Thomas, p. 691 sqq.

- 95) See for the time being, *Tracing* p. 240 n.334; p. 115.
- 96) He also teaches: 4.2.93 *rāṣṭriya-* (var. lect. in MS, KS, found next to Vedic *rāṣṭriya-* MS, KS; see further below), 5.1.40 *putriya/putrya-*, 4.2.27, 28: *apāṃnaptriya/aponaptriya/apāṃnaptrya/aponaptrya/* (and: *apāṃnaptriya/aponaptriya-* which is unattested); 4.2.29 *mahendriya/mahendriya-*, 4.2.32 *agniṣomiya* etc.; 5.1.4 *apūpiya/apūpya-* etc.; 5.1.69: *dakṣiṇiya/dakṣiṇya*; *kaṅkariya/kaṅkariya-*; 5.1.70 *sthālibiya/sthābilya-*; cf. Wackernagel-Debrunner, *Altind. Gramm.* II 2, §268 p. 435.
- 97) Actually the suffixes in *-iya/-īya* are much more widespread in later Vedic than Pāṇini adduces. A look into Viśva Bandhu's Vedic Word Concordance, vol. 15a (Index ab ultimo) p. 238 sqq. supplies more than a thousand examples, which, of course, cannot be investigated here. Instead, I select those which Pāṇini felt necessary to discuss. The older, accented examples (of various origins) are, in reverse alphabetical order:
ārjikiya-, abhiḡīya-, yajñāyajñīya-, ārambhanīya-, grāmaṇīya-, prayanīya-, pracaraṇīya-, abhicaraṇīya-, āmantraṇīya-, praṇīya-, ābhakṣaṇīya-, dīksaṇīya-, paryāṇīya-, parāṇīya-, pratipāraṇīya-, (a)dakṣaṇīya-, kaṅkatīya-, vākpatīya-, vāstoṣpatīya-, mahāvratīya-, vaiśuvatīya-, niyutvatīya-, marutvatīya-, parvatīya-, jatīya-, pañcavatīya-, dvitīya-, advitīya-, pāriḷṣitīya-, tṛtīya-/tṛtiya-, veditṛtīyā-, vitṛtīyā-, pañcāvattīya-, śrayanīya-, varavantiya-, apavāsathīya-, āvasathīya-, grhamedhīya-, nirdhīya-, abhiṣecanīya-, pramocanīya-, rathamocanīya-, sajanīya-, vratavisarjanīya-, padanīya-, saṃsadanīya-, abandhanīya-, āhavanīya-, tapanīya-, sām̐tapanīya-, keśavapanīya-, senothāpanīya-, upanīya-, rudraśamanīya-, udayanīya-, prāyaṇiyodayanīyā-, vratopāyanīya-, avanīya-, ādhavanīya-, vyavanīya-, savanīya-, āvahanīya-, anāvahanīya-, upajīvanīya-, anupajīvanīya-, darśanīya-, ānīya-, adānīya-, avadanīya-, anavadānīya-, paridhānīya-, samānīya-, pratyānīya-, vyānīya-, udavasānīya-, atinīya-, ninīya-, upaninīya-, apinīya-, unnīya-, abhyunnīya-, sūnnīya-, āpiya-, pratipīya-, kayāśubhīya-, viṣṇukramīya-, āsvastomīya-, agniṣomīya-, indrasomīya-, daśahomīya-, sākaṃprasthayīya-, vaiśvānarīya-, saṃvatsarīya-, śunāsīrīya-, tūriya-/turiya-/turiyā-, apaturīya-, indratūriyā-, aindratūriyā-, parikrīya-, niṣkrīya-, agrīya-, kuṇḍyāgrīya-, rāṣṭriya-, anyarāṣṭriya-, neṣṭriya-, yajñapātriya-, stotriya-, hotriya-, iṣṭāhotriya-, aponaptriya-, apāṃnaptriya-, śatarudriya-, mahendriya-, āgnīdhriya-, vatsapriya-, svasriya-, sahasriya-, mārjālīya-, pravliya-, traidhātavīya-, padavīya-, nāvīya-, upavīya-, takvavīya-, vājaprasavīya-, annaprasavīya-, dyāvāpṛthivīya-, parivīya-, akṣīya-, prakṣīya-, jatavedasīya-, pāpavasīya-, brāhmaṇācchaṃsīya-, pāpāvahīya-.
As can easily be seen, when taking apart the verb forms in *-ānīya-*, *-ya-* and the numerals, most forms concur with Wackernagel-Debrunner's statement.—Cf. also *puroḍaśya* : *puroḍaśya* KS 32.7, see Bronkhorst, *Kratylos* 32, 1987, p. 56.
- 98) Cf. also Wack.-Debr. I p. 199 §180aA.
- 99) Here, again, the question rises: which Vedic texts did Pāṇini know? The present quotation seems to indicate, if taken in isolation, that he knew even the prose texts of TS; he infers the Taitt. texts (Brāhmaṇa and Mantra: *chando-brahmaṇāni* 4.2.66) which had been promulgated by Tittiri (4.3.102 *tittiri-varatantu-khaṇḍikokhāc chaṇ*); cf. below, n. 146 and §5.
- 100) 1.5.6, 1.5.7, 1.5.12, 1.6.8, 2.1.3, 2.1.4, 3.4.5, 3.6.10, 3.7.8, 3.8.2, 3.13.9, 4.3.1;
- 101) 7.5, 8.10, 10.2, 13.12; 15.1, 23.7, 24.7, 29.1, 34.14, 37.2;
- 102) 1.8.1.1, 2.3.3.3, 2.5.2.3, 3.2.2.2, 3.4.3.2, 3.4.3.3, 6.1.11.6, 7.5.15.1;
- 103) *marutvatīya-niṣkevalya-*
- 104) One cannot exclude, however, that KāthŚS was composed in the East, along with the lost, so-called Prācyā Kātha texts.

M. WITZEL

- 105) Patañjali ad Pāṇ. 4.2.28 has both forms.
- 106) *yajñayajñiya-* is attested at ĀpŚS 5.11.6, 5.13.8, 5.15.6, 17.23.7, 22.10.1; while *yajñayajñiya-* is attested at ĀpŚS 13.15.3, 5; 14.34.4, 17.9.1, 17.12.10, 21.5.14; however, there is no obvious difference in the use of the words which refer to *stotras* and melodies. One may speculate on various authors (cf. Ālekhana, etc.) of the several parts of ĀpŚS. The above list is complete; however, only a few of these instances are quoted in VWC.
- 107) Which reminds of the findings of Kashikar in Fs. Kuiper (Pratidānam, Leiden 1967) which point to a certain difference between the Saṃhitā and the Brāhmaṇa as far as the original sub-school adherence is concerned.
- 108) See J.S. Klein, The particle *u* in the Rīgveda, Göttingen, 1978; Klein, Towards a discourse grammar of the Rīgveda, Heidelberg, 1985; Klein IJ 20, 1 sqq.; Klein, JAOS 98, 266 sqq.; see also Delbrück, Syntax, p. 500.
- 109) Delbrück, Syntax p. 504 sqq., lists: *u+vái, evá, hí, ha, svid ca* and the secondary position of *u* in cases like *átho, tátho, uto*; but also: *u khalu* p. 492; cf. *u ha* 499; *atha-u, tatha-u, uta-u* 514; *vai-u* 482; *āha* sentence 520; *ka: kim u* 508, 517.
- 110) See the preceding notes; cf. also Delbrück, Syntax, p. 500.
- 111) Klein, The particle *u*, p. 184 sqq. (ch. 12), which is based on Delbrück, Syntax, p. 506–514; JAOS 98, p. 266 sqq. Cf. also H. Hock, in Proceedings of International Vedic Workshop, Harvard 1989 (in press).
- 112) According to Klein, Towards..., pt. 2, p. 6. However, Grassmann seems to have only 392 cases (my count).
- 113) All figures in the Br. Vol. of VPK are unreliable; the examples are from AB 1–2, ŚBM 1–3, ŚBK 1, etc., only. The new Br. ed. has even fewer; the Up. vol. and the Sūtra vol. (ĀŚS, ŚŚS, Nirukta) also contain but very few cases. We are in need of a new, preferably a computer-based index.
- 114) Forms *uv(+eva)* in TB, BŚS, optionally in ŚBK, see ed. Cal. p. 35, sq.; *uv eva* TB 1.2.2.5; *uv eva* TS 2.2.7.4, 2.3.7.4, etc.; BŚS 16.10: 266.6; but *u eva* ŚBM; VādhB *uv evaitad* 3.12, cf. AO IV p. 212; JB §186 *sa u eva*, etc.
- 115) The Kṣudra Sūtra, an appendix to the Maśaka KalpaS. of the Kauth. SV which precedes LŚS, DŚS, has a few chapters which are Br.-like in style (notably Kṣ.S 3); here *u* is found frequently, esp. *yady u, yady u vai*, but also *u ha* and single *u*.
- 116) Very common; see Caland, 3.212.
- 117) Very common; see Caland, Über BŚS p. 50 sq.
- 118) The SV can be neglected here, as it almost completely consists of RV Mantras (i.e. with the exception of 75 Mantras in the whole of SV). Thus, there are only 2 viz. 4 new cases of *u* in SV.
- 119) PS, with a size approximately 2/3 that of RV, should have about 261 cases but has only 143, less than half of the expected number; ŚS, a text roughly 5/7 the size of RV, should have 280 cases but has only 127, again less than half the expected number.
- 120) Calculated according to the size of RV/KS.
- 121) TS, approximately 3/4 the size of RV, does not contain the roughly 294 cases to be expected, but rather has only 52 new cases, i.e. about 1/6 the expected rate of occurrence.
- 122) MS, roughly 5/6 the size of the RV text, does not have ca. 326 but only 66 new cases, i.e., only 1/5 the number that one might expect to find.
- 123) If the 28 occurrences in the Saṃhitā prose of KS are compared to those of TS and MS, we get: KS with almost 100% of the RV text and 28 cases :: MS, with 3/4 of the text, does not have *21 but only 15 cases, i.e., 3/4; TS, with 3/4 of the size, contains not *17 cases but only

NOTES ON VEDIC DIALECTS, (1)

- 13, i.e., 2/3 the expected finding.
- 124) See Delbrück, Syntax p. 499 sq. ("constatiert") + *uvāca*.
- 125) I am not sure whether I counted all of the cases of this combination, since without a computer data base it is very difficult (given the state of affairs in the Vedic Word Concordance), as well as very time consuming, to check all of the cases in all of the necessary texts. This section, therefore, should not be taken as statistically reliable at all, but rather as an indication of a trend.
- 126) Cf. WZKS 24, 37 and StII 10, 232, n.7: MS *tēna vai*... <> KS *etad dha vai*... (*pāpavasīyasām/vidam*) *cakara*.
- 127) MS 4.1.3:5.4 *tād dha sma-āhur* = KS 31.2:3.8 *tad u ha sma-āhur*.
- 128) *ha vai* MS 3.7.10:91.3; *khalu vai* MS 2.2.4:18.15; 2.1.3:4.13.
- 129) Cf. also: *Kaṇvo...Śrāyaso...ha vai...vidam cakāra*; further...*ha sma papraccha* 21.9. MS reads *taṃ vai* 3.3.9:42:11 in the parallel of KS 21.9, MS 4.1.3:5.4 *tad ha sma + āhur* = KS 31.2.
- 130) Cf., however, differently: *sidhyati ha vai* MS 3.7.10:91.3.
- 131) Cf. also *ha sma vai*; *ha tvai* KS 20.8:27.11; 21.12:53.3.
- 132) The rest of the cases in TS has other tenses: *ha vai* 10x, *ha sma (vai)* 6x, *ha tvai* 4x.
- 133) Note also—without special reference to the perfect—*atha khalu* 2.6, 2.15; *atho khalu* 1.6, 1.11, 5.24, 6.26, 6.36 (*khalu vai* 1.2, 1.15, 2.3, 4.5, 4.16, 8.1², 8.2, 8.4; *u khalu vai* 5.31²; *tad u khalu* 3.11, 3.34; but: *vai khalu* 6.11);—*athataḥ* 13x in books 6–8!
- 134) The following texts are not yet viz. cannot yet be presented here statistically due to the deficiencies of VWC. However, *u* occurs frequently in all of them.
- 135) Note that *uv eva* also occurs in TB, BŚS, ŚBK, see Caland, ed. p. 35 sq.; also *ha vāva* 4.22, 4.4.27, 4.96, *ha sma vāva* 108; *ha sma vai* 4.50, 4.89.
- 136) See Caland, AO II p. 153. These are texts from the actual Sūtra, while those labeled VādhB are the so-called Vādhūla-Anvākhyānas (usually misunderstood and quoted as "VādhS", but see StII 1, p. 75 sqq.)—The first chapter of the VādhŚS has now been edited and translated by M. Sparreboom (in: M. Sparreboom and J.C. Heesterman, The ritual of setting up the sacrificial fires according to Vādhūla school (Vādhūlaśrautasutra 1.1–1.4), Wien 1989).
- 137) See Caland, introd. ŚBK p. 76 sqq., esp. p. 79, §39j.
- 138) *ha* occurs in 101 passages (excluding RV quotations), the collocations of which have been mentioned above.
- 139) MS has 146 cases of *ha* (excluding the quotations from RV); *ha vai* also at MS 1.8.2.
- 140) TĀ is mentioned among the Brāhmaṇas here because of its generally very conservative character (however, TĀ 1, and TĀ 7–10 are late).
- 141) Preliminary figures, based on VPK and the occurrences mentioned above.
- 142) In 4. *Mitteilung* alone, 25 cases.
- 143) On *ha sma* "Dauer in Verg.": see Caland, Über das BŚS.
- 144) texts with rare occurrence = < >; those with frequent occurrences are underlined.
- 145) See Thieme, Pāṇini and the Veda, p. 79.
- 146) The question is: what does he understand by *udīcya*: Gandhāra, the Uttara-Kuru, Uttara-Madra, the Bāhika tribes? Note also the lumping together of the Kuru and Mahāvṛṣa tribe in ŚB, see *Tracing* p. 106 n.20; cf. AB 8.14 on the Northern kingdoms. Thieme, Pāṇini and the Veda, thinks *udīcya* = Pāṇini's area, cf. Cardona, Pāṇ., p. 147. Cf. also Kāśikā 1.1.75 *prāg-udañcau*— "the Northern and the Eastern dialects".
- 147) Cf. Wack. II p. 151, 158, 165.
- 148) He lists the early Middle Vedic periphrastic aorists found in MS and KS as peculiarities,

M. WITZEL

- cf. above, and knows of Śākalya's RV text (contemporary with the later parts of ŚB and the late AB) as well as of the Vṛji people (probably of the Panjab), who are later found in Videha and otherwise first mentioned in the Pāli canon (as Vajji).
- 149) The later part of AB (*Pañcikās* 6–8) indeed has one case at 7.9, but none are found in the earlier parts of this text (AB, *Pañcikās* 1–5).
- 150) For more examples of the interchange in Mantras between *pitṛ* and *mātr*, see Oertel, p. 82.
- 151) See author, WZKS Vol. XXIII (1979) pp. 5–28.
- 152) Cf. *Tracing*, §10.
- 153) See author, WZKS XXIII, 1979, p. 7, n. 12. For the situation in ŚB, see Minard, *Enigmes* I, §373: *ya evam veda* is less common in books 1–9, but increases in 10 sqq. and esp. in BĀU; cf. Renou, BSL 34, 49 sqq.
- 154) See Minard, *Enigmes*, II, §453a, for more details.
- 155) Cf. the use of *anv-ākhyāna* in VādhB.
- 156) Also at 3.32.